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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

PRESSURE GROUP POLITICS;

THE CASE OF THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT OF CANADA

by



MARGARET EILEEN BEATTIE

They have read, and
recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research,
for acceptance, a thesis entitled Pressure Group
Politics: The Case of the Student Christian Movement of
Canada

submitted by Margaret Eileen Beattie

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ABSTRACT

While there is a substantial body of literature on pressure group politics, it rarely deals with Canadian groups. This study is one attempt to fill this gap, as well as making an effort to draw attention to groups which, on first perusal, do not appear to be major influences in government policy or society, and are therefore sometimes taken to be less deserving of notice by academics than "big name" groups.

This study critically reviews some of the theoretical literature on pressure groups. As a consequence of this review, it stipulates three defining characteristics of a pressure group. First, a pressure group will have an ideology. According to this approach, pragmatism is an ideology, and there can therefore be no ideological-pragmatic distinction characterizing pressure groups, nor is the literature categorizing pressure groups according to "attitude" or "interest," for example, of use in pressure group studies. Second, a pressure group will seek access to decision-makers in the political system. It is postulated that in a parliamentary system such as Canada's, access will be sought primarily through the

executive branch of government, the group will not engage in party politics, and some attempt will be made to influence public opinion. Third, a pressure group will work through other groups, known here as working through a "group complex."

A pressure group, then, in pursuing collectively common political aims, expresses an ideology, seeks access to political decision-makers, and works through a group complex.

The Student Christian Movement of Canada (SCM) is assessed in light of this definition. It is found to have an ideology, to seek access to political decision-makers, and to work through a group complex. The relationship amongst these characteristics is touched upon. Finally, a discussion of the significance of the conclusion that the SCM is a pressure group is undertaken, including thoughts on the potential role of pressure groups generally.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Pressure group studies, once rare, now enjoy the approval of the tradition of Political Science. Yet there remain many groups, perhaps considered to be on the fringes of the discipline, which political scientists do not choose for analysis. I am choosing one such group and posing the problem, "Is the Student Christian Movement of Canada a pressure group?"

It must be made clear that this dissertation will not test what is known as "group theory"--that is, a particular approach to Political Science which sees all of politics in terms of conflict amongst groups. Rather it is concerned with the pressure group entity, and with an illustrative case study.

In order to look at the question whether the SCM is a pressure group, one must first examine the defining attributes of a "pressure group." To do this, some of the theoretical aspects of pressure group literature will be first considered below, and from this critical review, three major features will be accepted as defining attributes. Such a review of the literature forces immediate confrontation with some of

the problems associated with a pressure group study such as this one, and with some of the knowledge gained about pressure group activity, without confining the study to the points of view already taken by other students of pressure group politics. Such a review of literature also allows eventually that this particular study be placed into context in pressure group literature.

Although Bentley is one of the least useful theorists for my purposes, although I vigorously reject his "group theory" of politics, and although he just as vigorously denied paternity of the pressure group literature,¹ I bow to tradition, and begin my review of the literature by mentioning him. "He suggested a primitive but fruitful typology of 'groups,' which he argued was necessary to permit the development of an empirical theory having high predictability."² As Golembiewski states, however, Bentley's lot has been to legitimate a subject matter rather than to inspire methodological innovation.

In reviewing the theoretical literature on pressure groups, I am interested in discovering their defining attributes. The most useful study, both in terms of relatively exemplary

¹Arthur F. Bentley, "Kinnetic Inquiry," Science, 112 (December 29, 1950), 775-83.

²Robert T. Golembiewski, "The Group Basis of Politics: Notes on Analysis and Development," American Political Science Review, LIV, No. 4 (1960), 966.

methodology and in terms of substance, is Harry Eckstein's Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the British Medical Association. First, his comment on methodology is in order, since it is one of the few explicit considerations of methodology in the pressure group literature which I can usefully apply in my own approach.

In the process of research the generalizations [of his theoretical introduction] and details were not of course put together independently but worked out through constant cross-reference, the generalizations being made to reflect the details, the details arranged so as to illustrate the generalizations. I feel that this is no methodological hocus-pocus, but the right way to proceed in empirical analysis. The constant reconsideration of generalizations in terms of data and the selection of data in terms of generalizations is the heart and soul of systematic research, and both should be done quite consciously. . . . It would be too much of a good thing if a single pressure group allowed us to say all there is to say in a general theory of pressure group behaviour. Hence also the data . . . are not intended as any sort of "proof" of the generalizations, but only as illustrations. They constitute a case-study, and nothing more: evidence, not validation.¹

The best known definition is probably that of David B. Truman. An "interest group" (pressure group):

refers to any group that on the basis of one or more shared attitudes, makes certain claims upon other groups in the society for the establishment, maintenance, or enhancement of forms of behavior that are implied by the shared attitudes.²

¹Harry Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the British Medical Association (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), pp. 7-8.

²David B. Truman, The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 33.

In various attempts to classify groups, the role of attitude (emphasized by Truman) has been one of the pivotal points of discussion. The definitions and distinctions drawn by Eckstein, Potter, Eldersveld, and Castles, as major analysts of pressure groups, will here be considered as a prelude to a definition of pressure group in light of which the Student Christian Movement of Canada can be discussed.

By "pressure group" Harry Eckstein means groups which pursue collectively common political aims, by means other than attempting themselves to govern. Two types of pressure groups which Eckstein does not characterize with distinctive names are those which act because of subjective agreements (shared attitudes), as do most "other-oriented" (unselfish) pressure groups, and secondly, those which act because of attitudes--generally, though certainly not necessarily, selfish--which are rooted in common objective characteristics. He provides a further category, also subsumed under the broad genus "pressure group," of "interest groups," which are defined chiefly by objective characteristics and in which there exists a high probability that political purposes will be pursued collectively. He mentions a fourth category:

"Interests" always grow out of objective characteristics, while political "goals" may grow out of interest, but also out of values which are not reflections of objective characteristics. If groups having no "interest" in common engage in politics, I call them (following Allen Potter) "attitude groups."¹

¹Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics, p. 9.

In fact, however, Eckstein is not "following Allen Potter," who writes:

Pressure groups may be divided into two classes. There are those which are the spokesmen for particular sections of the community: trade associations, professional bodies, trade unions, church bodies, ex-servicemen's groups, and the like. Then there are those which either advocate policies more or less beneficial to particular sections of the community or in other ways organize people with common attitudes: the Economic League and the Research Defence Society (against anti-vivisectionist pressures) on the one hand, temperance-reformers' and animal-lovers' societies on the other.

The two kinds of attitude groups shade into each other. In advocating a policy beneficial to medical research workers the Research Defence Society provides an organisation for all those who believe in the value to the human race of medical experiments on live animals. The opponents of the temperance movement have pointed out that some of the leading temperance advocates have been chocolate manufacturers who would benefit if beer-drinkers switched to cocoa. These examples indicate the difficulties of any attempt to distinguish among pressure groups on the ground that one kind is disinterested.

The difference between a sectional spokesman group and an attitude group lies in the fact that it is the political task of the latter to try to persuade people, regardless of their sectional affiliations, to subscribe to its point of view. Trade associations and similar bodies must confine their membership (at least full membership) entirely or almost entirely to the sections they purport to represent, in order to reflect their special interests faithfully. Attitude groups, even those closely associated with certain sections, need not restrict their membership to particular sections of the community. Most of them do not (at least in their rules), though some do for tactical reasons.¹

Samuel Eldersveld makes a related distinction, suggesting a contrast between the "ideological 'struggle group'" and the

¹Allen Potter, "Attitude Groups," Political Quarterly, XIX (1958), 72.

"expediency-oriented 'control movement'" based upon the existence of interests whose objectives are directed toward societal improvement rather than subgroup gratification.¹ The "ideological 'struggle group'" would be Potter's "attitude group" and the "expediency-oriented 'control movement'" would probably be Eckstein's "interest group" and the pressure group which acts because of attitudes--generally, though certainly not necessarily, selfish--which are rooted in common objective characteristics.

Castles hypothesizes that attitude groups behave in a significantly different fashion from their interest counterparts, and that the major part of this difference is attributal to the fact that such groups are mobilized on the basis of a generalized belief.²

According to Castles, attitude groups are of two types: oriented towards norms or oriented towards values. In contrast to other forms of pressure groups (Castles calls them "interest groups") whose typical mode of operation is compromise, consultations and negotiation, attitude groups' inherent generalized belief "gives rise to ready-made solutions to strain, universal

¹Samuel J. Eldersveld, "American Interest Groups: A Survey of Research and Some Implications for Theory and Method," in Interest Groups on Four Continents, ed. by Henry W. Ehrmann (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958), p. 181.

²Francis G. Castles, Pressure Groups and Political Culture: A Comparative Study (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 88.

panaceas which do not allow of compromise--in other words, faithfulness to principle." Value-oriented groups tend to react to the extreme negative appraisal they receive from society as a whole, with a proliferation of aims or withdrawal from the rest of the community (forming "close-knit entities which attempt to avoid the disturbing realities of their political impotence.") Norm-oriented groups, because they do not necessarily hold socially unacceptable beliefs and values, may make their arguments within the terms of their society and to some degree use the same channels to express themselves as do pressure groups generally.¹

We can cut through much of this tortuous discussion by an examination of its underlying assumption. The classification of groups attempted by the writers just discussed is ill-devised because of their mistaken view of ideology. The assumption is that political scientists should operate with a

more traditional meaning of ideology, the alleged decline of which has occasioned the debate of the past decade. It has been characterized as a "comprehensive, consistent, closed system of knowledge, to which its adherents turn to get answers to all their questions, solutions to all their problems."²

¹Ibid., pp. 91-96.

²James B. Christoph, "Consensus and Cleavage in British Political Ideology," American Political Science Review, LIX, No. 3 (1965), 629.

But, as with Christoph's analysis, an alternative tool can be fashioned for judging the ideological condition of countries such as Britain and Canada. Christoph calls his the "attitude structure" version of the term:

The conception of ideology as attitude structure is more difficult to set forth because it falls short of the total belief system and tight logic of a "world view." Like a Weltanschauung, it partakes of a generalized view of man; it has moral and normative content, it "places" the individual in relation to his fellows; and it calls forth commitment and points to desirable actions. It consists of many separate but related attitudes which function to relate, and give meaning to, the different political events experienced by the individual. On the other hand, this concept of ideology is less apt to provide its holders with a total explanation of life or a full vision of human destiny. It is more earthbound, culture-bound and diffused, both in its sources and its scope. Ideology in this sense refers to a more or less institutionalized set of beliefs about man and society.³ It is likely to be a composite of prevailing generalized views of man, the goals that he does and should seek, the means he used to achieve them, the outlook for progress under present or alternative institutions, and so forth. Because such an ideology may have many sources, it is less likely than the "big" world views to be intellectualized, comprehensive, systematic or consistent, and more likely to be fragmentary, limited, even inconsistent. Yet when political man operates with reference to this organized bundle of views, he may derive from it some of the certainty and security that accompany a commitment to fuller, better articulated ideologies.

³Milton Rokeach et al., The Open and Closed Mind (New York, 1960), p. 35.¹

One of the resulting points that Christoph makes is "that we

¹Ibid., p. 629.

can speak without sophistry of an ideology of pragmatism, which serves as a foil to the ideology of total ends."¹

This is the crux of the matter in all the quibbling over types of "pressure groups" or "interest groups"--if pragmatism is an ideology, as I would argue it is, every group has an ideology. The "expediency-oriented 'control movement'" (Eldersveld), the "interest group" (Eckstein and Castles), which in the literature have been distinguished from "ideological 'struggle groups,'" "purpose groups," "principle groups," or "attitude groups" are, I would argue, in line with Christoph, just as ideological as the latter.

In saying that pragmatism is as much an ideology as is utopianism, for example, there is certainly no implication that they are not very different as ideologies. There are differences between these ideologies. Furthermore, there can be "mixes" of these ideologies; if one is talking in terms of left and right, it is quite possible that there be pragmatic leftists and utopian rightists as well as pragmatic rightists and utopian leftists. (Here concern with equality of well-being may be considered to characterize the left, and concern for the maintenance of existing well-

¹Ibid., p. 629.

belong may be taken as characteristic of the right.)

Thus I would reject the argument of Cupps (and there are others like him), who draws a distinction between ideologically oriented interest groups and more pragmatic policy-oriented groups, and develops a number of propositions based on this distinction.¹ I would say that perhaps some groups more explicitly articulate their ideology than do other groups, but this is a different point with different implications than those which Cupps tries to draw out of his distinction. In saying that every pressure group has an ideology, I am not saying that every person in our society has an ideology as here defined. I am saying that every pressure group has an ideology as here defined; if it does not have such an ideology, it may be some other sort of group, but it is not a pressure group. The matter of what is ideological and what is non-ideological cannot be sharply defined. A set of beliefs about man and society which is more or less institutionalized is an ideology; at the zero point where there is not institutionalization, no articulation, and no consistency, there is no ideology. It is a relative question, not a black and white one.

My conclusion that all pressure groups have ideologies

¹Don Stephen Cupps, "Bullets, Ballots, and Politics: the National Rifle Association Fights Gun Control" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1970), pp. 87-88.

follows the spirit of Christoph's argument but is derived from Apter and Monsen and Cannon.

"Ideology" is a generic term applied to general ideas potent in specific situations of conduct: for example, not any ideals, only political ones; not any values, only those specifying a given set of preferences; not any beliefs, only those governing particular modes of thought. Because it is the link between action and fundamental belief, ideology helps to make more explicit the moral basis of action.¹

Monsen and Cannon write:

Ideology in this book will be used to refer to the group's whole body of dogma as well as specific parts of it. Thus, individual statements of the goals and principles of a group will be considered "ideological," as well as the statements attempting to link them with the widely held values in the society. In this sense, then, ideologies are composed of two segments, the factual statement of a group's position on issues, and the linkage statements which attempt to justify, rationalize, and convert by showing (often emotionally and sometimes illogically) that the group's policy position is in harmony with the society's commonly esteemed values.²

I would modify this to say that the group seeks to show that its policy position is in harmony with what should be (in the group's view) society's commonly esteemed values.

This dissertation will use David Apter's definition of ideology as quoted above, recognizing his, and Monsen's and

¹David E. Apter, Introduction, in Ideology and Discontent, ed. by David E. Apter (London: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 16.

²R. Joseph Monsen and Mark W. Cannon, The Makers of Public Policy: American Power Groups and Their Ideologies (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 20.

Cannon's more explicit, division of the composition of ideologies into two segments: the factual statement of a group's position on issues, and the linkage statements which attempt to justify, rationalize and convert.

Also characterizing pressure groups are their attempts to seek access to political decision-makers in a society. Mitchell takes what Truman would have liked to be a theory of influence and describes it more accurately as a theory of access (which does not give a key to the outcomes of pressure group activity); factors involved include those related to the group's strategic position (social status and goals) in society, those related to the internal characteristics of the group (cohesion), and factors peculiar to the structure of the polity.¹ Truman fails to consider explicitly the determining role of public policy as well.²

In a parliamentary system such as Canada's, the chief channel to political decision-makers is very likely the executive, including the bureaucracy. In a political system with highly disciplined parties and the logic of cabinet government there is little chance of successful exertion of influence through members of Parliament or the political parties.

¹William C. Mitchell, The American Polity: A Social and Cultural Interpretation (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 85.

²Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics, p. 34.

Within this system pressure groups find it advantageous to make claims of non-partisanship, with some exceptions.¹

Political pressure is not exerted only directly on governmental decision-makers. Debate which reaches the public is a form of political pressure. Groups may hope, for example, that individuals will adopt the group's goals as their own and exercise pressure on their representatives in government to achieve these goals.² However, in a system of government whose major policy decisions are taken by the executive, supported by a disciplined majority in the legislature, there may be a reluctance by the group to engage in widespread public relations and mass media techniques, in an effort to influence Parliament and its members. Some groups may also have ethical inhibitions and a perception that the Canadian public tends to disapprove of such "American style" practice, which dissuade them from using these techniques to seek access to government.³

¹Ibid., p. 17; F.C. Engelmann and M.A. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1967), p. 110. R.A. Weir, "Patterns of Interaction Between Interest Groups and the Canadian Political System: The Case of the Canadian Medical Association" (unpublished PhD dissertation, Georgetown University, 1970).

²Kay Lawson, Political Parties and Democracy in the United States (New York: Scribner, 1968), p. 102. See also Henry W. Ehrmann, "The Comparative Study of Interest Groups," in Interest Groups on Four Continents, ed. by Ehrmann, pp. 3-4; Truman, The Governmental Process, Chapter 8; Allen Potter, Organized Groups in British Politics (London: Faber & Faber, 1961), p. 374.

³Weir, Patterns of Interaction, p. 259.

Another important aspect of a pressure group is the relationship it forms with other groups.

When groups are active over relatively long periods of time, relationships of a fairly stable character will probably develop between them. The relationship may be one of facing common opposition, the attainment of whose goal would render the achievement of a number of other goals unattainable. The related groups would then defend the situation which permits them to exist and pursue their objectives, even though these ends may be in some degree incompatible. Such a coalition of groups may be called an interest complex. Obviously an unstable group, even though active in opposition, will once more break into distinct component parts whenever the pressure eases.¹

Eldersveld's description of the "group complex" depicts "the group strategy in relationship to other groups" as "one of bargaining, negotiating, coalescence, reciprocation, even combination and continued alliance."² One of Cupps' propositions is: "Ideological groups tend to be more sensitive in their choice of allies, striving to align with those groups that share their ideological beliefs and more ready to reject aid offered by groups that do not."³ Having rejected Cupps' ideological-pragmatic distinction, if we wanted to look at the proposition in this dissertation, we could put it in the terms that if the SCM's ideology is not one of pragmatism, it will strive to align with those groups that share its

¹Phillip Monypenny, "Political Science and the Study of Groups: Notes to Guide a Research Project," Western Political Quarterly, VII (1954), 199.

²Eldersveld, "American Interest Groups," p. 194.

³Cupps, "Bullets, Ballots, And Politics," p. 88.

ideological beliefs and be more ready to reject aid offered by groups that do not.

From this critical review of the literature we come to the conclusion that a pressure group, then, pursues collectively common political aims, and in so doing expresses an ideology, seeks access to decision-makers in the political system, and works through a group complex. Is the Student Christian Movement of Canada a pressure group?

This dissertation will examine the following hypotheses:

1. As a pressure group, the SCM will have an ideology.

By "ideology" I mean a generic term applied to general ideas potent in specific situations of conduct: for example, not any ideals, only political ones; not any values, only those specifying a given set of preferences; not any beliefs, only those governing particular modes of thought. Because it is the link between action and fundamental belief, ideology helps to make more explicit the moral basis of action.¹

2. As a pressure group, the SCM will seek access to decision-makers in the political system.

A. In seeking access to decision-makers in the political system, the SCM's chief channel of access will be through the executive, including the bureaucracy.

B. In seeking access to decision-makers in the political system, the SCM will make standard claims of non-partisanship.

C. In seeking access to decision-makers in the political system, the SCM will try to influence public opinion.

¹Apter, Ideology and Discontent, p. 16.

By "access" I mean the opportunity for communication of the group's political views and demands.

By "decision-makers" I mean members of cabinets, legislatures, civil services, and parties.

By "political system" I mean any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, the authoritative allocation of values for a society.

By "public opinion" I mean the expression of demands about public policy by groups in the society.

3. As a pressure group, the SCM will form a group complex with other groups.

By "group complex" I mean relationships of a fairly stable character, measured by regular occurrence of contact with other groups.

Before proceeding with an examination of these hypotheses, the dissertation will give a brief introductory sketch of the Student Christian Movement of Canada, to facilitate understanding of the more focused study which follows in the chapter by chapter discussions.

This is, in large part, a study of the Student Christian Movement's national expression. Heavy reliance is placed on the archives of the national aspect of the movement, although of course national staff and student representative documentation reflects local unit thought and action as well as national. This restriction was placed on the work due to my focus of interest, and limitations of time, financial resources and documentation.

The parent organizations of the Student Christian Movement were the YMCA and YWCA of Canada, and the Student Volunteer Movement. The Student Volunteer Movement was committed to the study of Foreign Missions with the express goals of stimulating and encouraging students to offer themselves as missionaries. The student YWCA and YMCA focused in their study programs on the study of the Bible, Missions and social problems.¹ Paris says that though student work was controlled by students it was supervised by national offices, and he concludes that "in retrospect it would seem inevitable that the students should strive for absolute autonomy in the student world."²

Prior to the Des Moines Quadrennial Convention of 1919, of the Student Volunteer Movement, the Canadian delegates held a one day conference.

This gathering produced all the signs of being a Canadian student movement. Certain things were clear. All seemed agreed in their basic criticisms of present Student Christian Associations. They felt their bases of membership was inconsistent and too dogmatic. The Associations possessed no recognition of the principle of co-education. The students were genuinely frustrated in not being able to feel that the associations belonged to them because they were being supervised by an organization that was outside the university and consequently that supervision was considered limited in the amount of realistic help it could render to the peculiar problems of university students. In short, the students felt the desire for complete freedom in running their own programme and controlling its activity and destiny.³

¹Peter Paris, "Report on SCM of Canada, Part II: Study Life of the Movement: 1921-1965," SCM of Canada, August, 1965, p. 3. (Mimeographed.)

²Ibid., p. 5.

³Ibid., pp. 6-7.

There were two points of view at the conference, about the purpose of a Student Christian Association.

There were those who felt that the chief object should be the strengthening of the spiritual life of the members of the Association, and that anything which drew the Association away from this primary purpose was harmful. Others, on the contrary, regarded the Association as primarily a vehicle for the application of Christianity to the life of the world through Social Service, and as of little worth apart from such activity.¹

Summer conferences which followed the Des Moines Convention also generated enthusiasm for a new movement in which men and women were united in a program entirely controlled by the students themselves.

At the first Canadian National Student Conference, held from December 29, 1920, to January 2, 1921, in Guelph, the Student Christian Movement of Canada was formed, with the following "Basis and Aim":

The Student Christian Movement of Canada is a fellowship of students based on the conviction that in Jesus Christ are found the supreme revelation of God and the means to the full realizations of life.

The Movement seeks through study, prayer and practice to know and follow Jesus Christ and to unite in its fellowship all students in the colleges of Canada who share the above conviction together with all students who are willing to test the truth of the conviction upon which the Movement is founded.

¹M. N. Omond, "The Canadian Conference," Canadian Student, January, 1920, p. 15, quoted in James Mackinnon Smith, "A History of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," unpublished manuscript, no date.

In 1933 a third paragraph was added "to include the concerns of of the peoples of the world":

The Movement desires to share with others the values discovered in Jesus Christ and to join with those of like mind in all lands and of every race and rank in the creation of a world-wide order of society in harmony with the mind and purpose of God as revealed in Jesus Christ.¹

This acceptance as participants in the Movement of those who were merely "willing to test the truth of the conviction upon which the Movement is founded" is indicative of the SCM having

in some ways deliberately separated from the churches and deliberately stepped out of the identified Christian community to be free to express itself. In the early days, through the 20's particularly, and in the early 30's [there was] a great deal of suspicion and some antagonism between the churches and the SCM . . . because the SCM was needing the establishment.²

The SCM "Handbook" (1963) comments on the "Basis and Aim":

THE SCM THUS IS

- a fellowship based on a Christian conviction and concern.
- a movement including the questioner and the doubter.

It is therefore an "open" movement.

- a group that is community in action with a world-wide fellowship as part of the affirmation and experience of many students.³

The 1972 brochure for the annual national study conference describes the SCM simply as being "concerned with understanding

¹SCM National Archives, "SCM Handbook," 1963, Section I. (Mimeographed.)

²Gerald Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

³"SCM Handbook."

our world and society and the Christian faith."

The "Basis and Aim" has caused much debate, but its challengers have never been successful in replacing it, though the spirit of their arguments have been accepted by many.

The movement is made up of local units at each university (with some exceptions, especially today), often in the SCM's history with a full time or part time "executive secretary" sort of staff member (called the "general secretary"). A national office also has paid staff members--with great fluctuations in size, depending on the financial resources and attitude toward national office's functions of the particular era of the movement under discussion. These national office duties, at the peak of national office staffing, have been organized into those of general secretary (there has always been one and sometimes two--a man and a woman), associate study secretary, associate world mission secretary, associate administrative secretary and associate secretary for books. As well as being linked together by national office functioning, local units are brought together in the supreme policy-making body of the movement--National Council--to which they send representatives for the annual meeting, by the executive committee, now called the board of directors, and by national committees. These committees are set up by National Council and submit reports to it for discussion and policy direction. The division of work and the nature of the committees have changed with the years.

National Council makes policy decisions both on matters of the life of the movement--finances, administrative structures, hiring national staff, and on issues it wants to take a stand on.

Local units have generally been run by a "cabinet"--a core of students who divide the labour into specific portfolios, for example, Study Program, Publicity, World Mission, and Relationships. An alternative mode of organization has been that of having an executive committee. There has also often been an advisory board for each local unit, composed of the general secretary, representatives of local congregations, businessmen, students, and faculty, which was assigned the function of taking a key role in financial campaigns, as well as maintaining liaison with the community. The cabinet or executive committee has run the activities for the "membership"--study groups, lecture series, conferences, social service functions, and social gatherings. "Membership" is put in quotation marks because the boundaries of involvement for calling someone a member have, intentionally, usually not been clearly defined. There are those who have merely attended a lecture series or part of it, one conference, one study group, a few social functions--are they SCM'ers? Many units upheld the concept of fluidity of membership and refused to have a membership list; the idea of having a membership card has never been popular because it seems to deny the prized spirit of an "open movement."

National program ideas have often determined the direction taken by local units; national secretaries make sojourns across the country serving as resource people for cabinet meetings, conferences, and specific program events. In addition, national office from 1945 until 1967 ran the "work camp" aspect of the SCM's program--a vital source of life as generally enthused SCM'ers returned to their local units after their summer experiences. The "work camp" or "summer project" brought together between ten and twenty-five students from across the country and sometimes from outside the country, to live co-operatively in a church basement or parish hall. Not only did they share the duties of daily living, but they generally put themselves on a "wage conservation plan" so that differences in summer salaries would not be reflected in freedom of spending and style of life during the summer (for example, a 1962 camp had a \$5.00 per week "allowance" for each camper's bus fare, incidentals, and entertainment). In addition, some of the campers usually set up a "wage pool" --on a "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" basis for the following year. Each of the camps had a study theme, the most common over the years being Mental Health camps and Industrial camps. Students took summer jobs in mental hospitals and in industry and related their daily work to the problems they confronted intellectually in their

study programs. Other work camps had as themes "Leadership Training," "Peace," "Biculturalism," "Theology," and "Internationalism."

National programming, run by national office, also included national study conference held with National Council meetings. Delegates to international conferences were often selected through the auspices of national office. Another important function has been carried out with the administration of the National SCM Bookroom, now run as a business venture with a service function independently of national office, but owing its beginnings to the associate secretary for books.

As with many pressure groups, finances have frequently been a problem for the SCM. The problem has not simply been to persuade people to give, but in the SCM's own ambivalence about soliciting money from a capitalistic society whose values it often rejected and whose agencies it sometimes had to deceive about SCM views in order to get money.

We can now proceed with an analysis of the SCM as a pressure group. Chapter Two deals with the hypothesis that the SCM has an ideology, and Chapter Three is a further elaboration of this discussion, looking at issues and actions of the SCM as part of its purported ideology. Chapter Four examines the SCM as a pressure group in terms of its seeking access to political decision-makers. Chapter Five examines the

hypothesis that the SCM works as part of a "group complex." Chapter Six makes concluding comments--in summary, in reflection on the significance of the three features of pressure groups (having an ideology, seeking access to political decision-makers, and working through a group complex) stipulated as definitive, and in prescription for the future role of pressure groups and of the SCM of Canada.

SCM documents used for the dissertation are listed in the bibliography. Most of these documents are in the possession of the National SCM office. The documents are in a completely unorganized state, stored in more than twenty cardboard cartons, and it is thus impossible to refer the reader to the specific location of a particular document. Some activities are not well documented, but it is difficult to know whether this means that documents have been lost or destroyed, whether there simply were no formal minutes kept, or whether the activity ceased for a few years. An example would be the records of the National Relationships Committee, which are scattered. The same situation holds with the records of other committees. From 1935 National Council records become much fuller than in previous years; again it may be a matter of records being lost or simply that very full records were not kept until 1935. It can be assumed that much correspondence has been lost or destroyed, but obviously one cannot state what is missing.

An attempt was made to track down archives of two local units in addition to the limited material found in the Alberta and Toronto units: neither Saskatchewan's nor McGill's archives could be located. Frequent moves of precariously financed local units have meant that material has often been thrown out or lost.

In selecting people to be interviewed, an attempt was made (fairly successfully) to have all the eras of the SCM "covered." Almost all of the people listed in the bibliography have been associated with the SCM over a number of years and in a number of different capacities, and it is therefore impossible to label them individually as SCM'ers of a certain era. The major limitation on interviewing was one of availability of persons whom the writer wanted to interview and the impossibility of talking to many people because of expenses of travel required to see them. It would be impossible to name "missing persons" in the list of those interviewed without going on for pages and without placing a judgment on the worth of the activities of a great many SCM'ers included or excluded.

With the documents, all were scanned and those deemed relevant were categorized and marked in the writer's schema; these documents were then reviewed for note-taking or xeroxing. In interviews, except on the first few occasions, a tape recorder was used, which allowed the exact quotations in the dissertation. The interviews were open-ended, and tailored to the particular involvement of the person being interviewed.

CHAPTER II

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

Chapter I has hypothesized that as a pressure group, the Student Christian Movement of Canada will have an ideology. David Apter's characterization of "ideology" was accepted:

"Ideology" is a generic term applied to general ideas potent in specific situations of conduct: for example, not any ideals, only political ones; not any values, only those specifying a given set of preferences; not any beliefs, only those governing particular modes of thought. Because it is the link between action and fundamental belief, ideology helps to make more explicit the moral basis of action.¹

As is suggested in Chapter I (from Monsen and Cannon, and from Apter), there are two segments of the composition of ideologies: the factual statement of a group's position on issues, and the linkage statements which attempt to justify, rationalize and convert. This chapter will deal with the "linkage statements." The next chapter will deal with statements and actions showing the SCM's position on issues, which reflect its "wider set of meanings" or its "fundamental belief."

¹Apter, "Introduction," p. 16.

If these two chapters show that the SCM has (had) an ideology, they will give partial affirmative evidence that the SCM is a pressure group. They will also show the nature of that ideology, if it exists, and therefore provide some information about ideology in Canadian politics and a pressure group as carrier of ideological tradition.

Throughout the SCM's history, various changes in ideology can be recognized. What brings about these changes? Without being able to establish cause and effect, we can consider the major factor that may be involved:

The common core and maybe root cause is from its unstructured nature, from its definition as a movement that is built around the free initiative of students rather than from institutionalized leadership, for example---laid on expectations. Because it is dependent on initiative of students it is strongly influenced by student leaders or students who have the capacity of being leaders picking up the live idea of their day, the thing that is attractive to them, that leads them, some ways at least, from where they are to something that attracts them. It means that the Movement has had sort of a genius for smelling out what's going on and responding to it and claiming to it somewhat ahead of its time, and tending to be radical in that sense, but that has meant that it certainly was responsive to the changes that come with each time, and partly, I suppose, reacting even to itself.¹

A point to be made here, from the very beginning, is that there was often more than one ideology in the Movement, although one may be identified as dominant, and as well that there is not necessarily a clear continuity or development

¹Gerald Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

from one period to another.

I would feel that there are periods of discontinuity within the life of the Movement. The Movement isn't sort of a centre line that moves from here to there. The Movement because of its nature of student involvement responds to its time, and may find a very positive expression and generate a lot of energy, and really grow. Or it may not--it may run into a confusion of ideas, and lack of leadership, that let it be--and you can't really follow the progress through from that experience to the next--that somehow it's more open for a new student generation to respond to its time, and in some ways to start all over again.¹

The period of the SCM's life from 1920-21--the time of its formation--to 1939, may be characterized as the Social Gospel period. A further characterization of the 1930's is given later--that of "Radical Christianity," but it can be considered a variant of the Social Gospel.

The social gospel, as a variant of Christianity is difficult to define, so many were its different expressions. Its bold outlines, however, are reasonably clear. It believed in a God of Love who was active in history in movements for social justice, peace, co-operation and democracy. Consequently it espoused an organic view of human society and a progressive interpretation of history. It believed that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, but as an historical person who gave himself fully to the Will of God. Salvation, therefore, was not a matter of plucking individuals from society, but of engaging in those causes which embodied the quest for the Kingdom of God on Earth as taught and exemplified in the life of Christ.

The "good news," therefore, was more than personal and religious--in the sense of inwardness. It was ethical and social, and had radical implications for the structure and spirit of society. It demanded the acquisition of new skills and methods and the hard work of applying them,

¹Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

and so the new frontiers of the Christian enterprise became social welfare agencies, co-operative and farmers' movements, government departments, labour unions, church forms developed to work with slum, immigrant and labour populations, but the essentially lay character--which does not distinguish it from the church--is evident in the number of ministers who left clerical work to become more directly involved in the "reconstruction of society."¹

Underlying all the SCM's early activities were studies of the records of the life of Jesus which had been begun in the activities of the SCM's predecessors. The method highly popular in the SCM throughout the 1920's and in the 1930's was developed by Dr. H. B. Sharman and its use propagated by his personal leadership as well as by his "disciples" instructed in the use of the method. His goal was, through non-directive leadership, to show students Jesus, leaving to them the conclusions to be drawn when faced with the assembled records of the life of Jesus and the questions, who is this man, and what is he saying. It was his basic conviction:

I . . . am utterly opposed . . . to working out, as a regular feature of the study, any "Application." To me that seems pernicious, for it assumes that Jesus acted and thought in a manner that left the ultimate values in his work for extraction by ingenuity. If we cannot rest confident in the belief that when Jesus is adequately known the implications of his thought will be obvious, not only so but likewise compelling, then we should regard ourselves as engaged in a hopeless task.²

¹Alexander Richard Allen, "Salem Bland and the Social Gospel in Canada" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1961), p. 1.

²This One Thing: A Tribute to Henry Burton Sharman (Toronto: SCM of Canada, 1959), pp. 43-44.

Allen comments:

That these studies, apparently unrelated to social gospel concerns, in fact were another vehicle of it, was suggested by the response of the Calgary district of the Methodist church, known for its social radicalism. Its enthusiastic endorsement noted that the studies "cut the tap-root of much of the pernicious theological and political propaganda of today without even mentioning them."¹ This appeared to be a subtle tool indeed.

¹Annual Report 1921-2, Methodist Department of ESS [Evangelism and Social Service], p. 101.¹

SCM'ers of this period (in This One Thing and in private conversation) talk of the liberating effect of this method in their intellectual development. One "old SCM'er" has testified:

In no other group have I found the principles of democracy so consistently striven for. It was typical of every group, committee and conference, because so many of the participants had learned to understand it through the "Sharman Method." We got that method into our bones, and it goes on into our daily jobs now, as we seek to help it permeate the structure of society through the groups we work with "in the world."²

The YM-YW approach (which was being partially repudiated in the formation of the SCM in 1920-21) had advocated the study of the Bible for reasons of personal piety, raising nothing of controversy, not even evolution or "Were there two Isaiahs?" and avoiding questions of economics, politics and race. The "Y" approach was not acceptable to those under the influence of

¹Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 219.

²SCM National Archives, excerpt from memoir written for SCM Twentyfirst Anniversary preparations. (Typewritten.)

the Sharman method.¹ On the other hand, theologians were sceptical of Sharman, whose "Jesus in flashes" approach he refused to set out in book form--that is, characterize Jesus or develop theological categories.²

One informant called him a "liberal pietist" with individualist perceptions rather than a societal view of the impact of the study of the life of Jesus. But Allen suggests that he had more social concern than he has been credited with--exemplified by his chairmanship of the Joint Board of Employers and Employees in the Toronto clothing trades.

Earl Wilmott elaborated on this point that while Sharman was a highly respected labour mediator, this reputation was achieved not so much from a real sympathy with labour, though perhaps he had such a sympathy, as from his characteristic style of pressing everybody to lay out the whole evidence. Wilmott stated that Sharman never said anything that showed that he really understood the class struggle. The passages he pointed to were not those with Jesus in his social attitudes, but Jesus in his personal relations, though this was probably not deliberate, said Wilmott. Wilmott suggested that Sharman deprecated the SCM's later tendency to express social and political concerns, not so much because he felt such an

¹Earl Wilmott, conversation, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference, Camp Bolton, Ontario, August 29-September 2, 1971.

²Hutchinson, conversation, summer, 1970.

expression was bad in itself, but because it diverted attention from something so significantly important. (Wilmott said that at the 1944 Minnesing conference, at which there was quite a number of participants back from China who insisted on pressing anything in the records to do with social issues, that Sharman saw something he hadn't seen before, which he didn't accept, but respected.)¹

From the evidence, it seems a valid conclusion that Sharman's method--forcing students to search out the meaning of the life of Jesus and work out their own applications, and inculcating in them the principles of democracy--led some students to affirm social gospel concerns.

At any rate, whether it was approved by Sharman or not,

the social gospel, in any case, had heavily impregnated the student movement he came to serve in Canada, and it supplemented Sharman's studies with groups on social problems and the social teachings of Jesus.⁹

⁹Canadian Student, November, 1920, p. 27; October, 1925, p. 181.²

What was the orientation of this concern for social questions?

As the election of 1921 approached, it was apparent that the social gospel in the student world--that is, among the leadership of the nascent Student Christian

¹Earl Wilmott, conversation.

²Allen, The Social Passion, p. 222.

Movement (SCM)--was fully in accord with the developing progressive alliance in politics. Frequent contributors to the SCM publication, the Canadian Student, such as J. Davidson Ketchum and Sidney Hooke, were often to be found on the pages of the recently established progressive journal, the Canadian Forum.⁶⁷ The editor of the Canadian Student declaimed against a "competitive system which crowds the market with commodities in periods of spending and then enforces idleness consequent to overstimulated production."⁶⁸ Hooke argued that workers were correct in their circumstances to turn to socialism and to criticize the church for alliance with vested interests.⁶⁹ Two articles in 1921 urged students to view their concerns and outlook as identical with those of the Progressive party. M. H. Staples, director of education for the UFO, author of The Challenge of Agriculture, and a member of the graduate group of the SCM, depicted the essential similarity of the two movements. Both, he said, had encroached on territory held by other organizations; both were reform-minded and democratic in spirit and structure; and both believed in the essential goodness of human nature.⁷¹ Ernest Thomas, in a subsequent article, thoughtfully analysed and rejected propaganda condemning "class and "group" political action. There was no need to fear the "new, inarticulate energy" of the agrarian movement, he said, but it was important for enlightened citizens to co-operate with it to avert its becoming a narrow class movement.⁷² There is no way of measuring how many students in or out of the SCM took up the challenge of these articles, but such writing reflected the temper of the SCM as revealed in the minutes of its general committee, the reports of its conferences, not to mention the Canadian Student itself, during these early years of the movement's life.⁷³

⁶⁷See for example, Canadian Student, Nov. 1918, pp. 18ff; Jan. 1919, pp. 1-2; Nov. 1921, pp. 1-2; Feb. 1924, p. 131; and Canadian Forum, Sept. 1922, pp. 749-53; Dec. 1922, pp. 76-8; April 1923, pp. 204-6; Aug. 1923, pp. 335-6. See below, pp. 307-8. Ketchum was a frequent editorialist in the former publication, while C. B. Sissons, a cousin of Woodsworth, was editor of the latter.

⁶⁸Nov. 1921, pp. 1-2. ⁶⁹Ibid., Nov. 1918, pp. 18ff.

⁷⁰Published in Toronto in 1921.

⁷¹Canadian Student, March 1921, pp. 20-2.

⁷²Ibid., Oct. 1921, pp. 13ff.

⁷³SCM Archives, Toronto, minutes of the general committee, SCM of Canada; SCM, Building the City of God, p. 490.

Several pages later, Allen continues:

At the Central Area conference, September 1921, the peculiar combination of interests which was to characterize the SCM for many years was manifest. The search for the Jesus of history under Sharman was combined with lectures by S. H. Hooke interpreting the faith of Jesus as being "in 'up to the neck,'" and one's faith in Jesus involving the completion of that venture in one's own life. The private secretary of Arthur Henderson, British Labour MP, was with the conference the whole time, interpreting the programme and principles of labour, while Mr. Staples of the UFO undertook a similar task for the farmers' movement. At the conference, 75 per cent of the students enrolled in groups on social and industrial problems as against such areas as education and missions. Even the character of the latter was evincing a new stress on reform of social and economic conditions abroad.¹³

¹³[Christian Guardian (Methodist)], 26 Oct. 1921, p. 13. The next year (and perhaps in 1921) an employer representative was invited to speak, but did not show up, Canadian Churchman, 12 Oct. 1922, pp. 655, 72.¹

Allen points out that when The Canadian Forum was founded by progressive intellectuals in 1920, not only older leaders of the social gospel but younger radicals of the SCM were contributors. J. Davidson Ketchum and S. H. Hooke were prominent leaders in the SCM whose writings can be categorized as part of the "theology of radical reform" discussed by Allen:

The theology of radical reform was a modernist compound of Christianity, Bergson's creative evolution, and a touch of prometheanism which seemed to derive from Nietzsche. It was a theology which obviously contributed much to the birth of the new secularism which attended the decline of social service. . . . Ketchum argued that a new theology needed to take account of the incompleteness of creation

¹Ibid., pp. 213-214; p. 222.

as indicated by such signs of further change as the occurrence of genius (an omen of the human future), growing lack of sympathy with the social heritage, and the discovery of evolution itself. It was now possible, he wrote, for one to be conscious of the "Evolution-impulse," which was the moral law within, ordering and restraining the voices of hunger and love. However, this "true Voice of Nature" was not simply negative. Positive form had been given to it by "the great Pioneer of the Evolutionary Stage."⁵ Hooke, in a mystical and monistic article, "That One Face," elaborated Ketchum's point, taking as his twin starting points the discussion of the historical Jesus and the mood of modern science. Relativity theory seemed to place man in an open universe, between the "natural world and the world of new possibilities." Jesus was the signpost, pioneer, and demonstrator of this new way. The apocalyptic expectation of Jesus' time was, he said, of a "new, different and better order of society." Thus it might be said that "eschatologists and science meet at the point where Jesus is the pioneer of the realm of the new laws of life." This new region was open to scientific exploration and its laws interpenetrated those of the physical world.⁶

Ketchum noted that Hooke had ignored the question of God as such, and that it was the "Saving of God" that was at issue in a world which, under the tutelage of science, was able progressively to replace a capricious supernatural being in every sphere of life.⁷ Hooke, in "A Modern Lay Apologia," in effect endorsed this replacement of ultimate authority, stating that the appeal to the Bible, councils, even to Jesus was no longer possible, in the traditional sense, because all were the result of historical and natural causes, political intrigues and interpretations. Experience was the only authority for any person. Although he suggested that there was both an historical and a timeless quality to experience, which should have allowed for an accumulation and communication of authoritative experience, Hooke seemed to seal off this possibility by arguing that since the ideas which clothed experience were transitory, experience could not be said to validate the ideas. Perhaps he was taking pains to avoid the pitfalls of idealism,

⁵Canadian Forum, Sept. 1922, pp. 749-53.

⁶Ibid., Dec. 1922, pp. 76-8.

⁷Ibid., April 1923, pp. 204-6.

but if there was no timeless way of expressing timeless experience, how could it be known as timeless? Somewhat paradoxically he concluded that, from the standpoint of his apologia, the great figures of religious history become one's fellow travellers.⁸ But what of God? "The true Mass, the body of God, is the universe of knowledge, beauty, order, love."⁹

Such a person as Hooke found himself in close agreement with Julian Huxley, who argued that the idea of God, that is the idea of the whole of reality with which man is in contact, would continue to have an important biological function.¹⁰ It was not difficult for Hooke to say, therefore, that Christianity came closest to the requirements for a universal religion set up by Huxley.¹¹ For religious radicals on the political left it was true, as H. M. Thomas observed, that the historic symbols of the race were in eclipse.¹² They blamed this on the irrationality of contemporary industry and political society, on the self-centredness of modern art, on the smooth combination in the churches of social service and business efficiency. But while their criticism was not entirely incorrect at these points they were not aware of the degree of their own subscription to irrationality in "evolutionism" in the name of science. In their trinity, they seemed to cast the totality of experience as God, the "evolution-impulse" as the Holy Spirit, and they wished to see Jesus as the Christ who revealed the evolutionary way to them. They were genuinely grieved that "the Church . . . can have no Christ but the Christ of the theologians, irrespective apparently of whether this is the Christ to heal a troubled world, and raise mankind nearer the Divine . . ."¹³

⁸Ibid., Aug. 1923, pp. 335-6.

⁹Ibid., March 1923, pp. 168-70.

¹⁰Ibid., Dec. 1924, p. 81.

¹¹Ibid., Jan. 1925, pp. 110-112.

¹²Ibid., July 1923, pp. 302-4.

¹³J. Duff, "The Saving of Religion," Ibid., Oct. 1923, pp. 13-14. See also W. Harvie-Jellie, "Difficulties in the Way of a Young Man's Faith," Presbyterian Witness, 22 Feb. 1923, p. 5.

. . . [These discussions] were unanimous in their rejection of the old gods and the old generation, and almost at one in their description of the new theology. It represented more than youthful reaction, and even more (or less?) than the search for a fuller religious expression.¹⁶ It was a way to a new social order.

It was one consequence of this social evolutionary theology that the SCM quite self-consciously looked upon itself as a "movement" and not as an institution. It interpreted its being in terms not unlike those of the Forum writers. After all, many of them were among its leaders. It was concerned with "reality," not "form"; its international character represented new world possibilities. It has, as its leaders declared, been part of one of the few international organizations to survive the war.¹⁷ It had a part in initiating the World Student Relief programme;¹⁸ it was in touch with the thinking of students around the world, especially in Britain, the United States, Poland, and China.¹⁹ Surely the movement was a thing of great promise. In the words of one of its leaders, "nothing short of a new world order (was) involved in its ultimate expression."²⁰

This view of the movement meshed the study of Jesus and the theology of radical reform. The SCM followed one who turned "from the blandishments of a 'career,' to attempt 'to remake, single-handed, the world according to his own ideas.'" He was put out of the way by the "interests" along with a couple of rogues, "but the SCM believes that Young Man was right and the 'interests' were wrong; it believes, too, that avowal of his principles

¹⁶Ernest Thomas, "Insurgent Movements in the Church," Canadian Forum, Feb. 1923, pp. 140-2.

¹⁷Canadian Student, Oct. 1922, special international issue.

¹⁸Ibid. ¹⁹Ibid., Dec. 1922, pp. 8-9.

²⁰R. DeWitt Scott, "The Student Christian Movement in Canada," Presbyterian Witness, 7 Sept. 1922, pp. 10-12. Scott was SCM secretary at McGill University.

is scarce less deadly now than then . . ."21

There was more than a slight promethean spirit in the movement's approach to the problems of setting the world right. God, as most Christians understood him was not so much use to them as Mr. Wells' "Captain of the World Republic" who, "amidst the darkness and confusions, the nightmare stupidities, and the hideous cruelties of the great war, fought his way to Empire."<22 It sometimes seemed that still more preferable was the God to whom thanks could be given for leaving his world incomplete, so that man could undertake its completion. There seemed to be a mandate rather than a condemnation in Jesus' words that, since John, "The Kingdom of Heaven is taken forcibly and the violent drag it toward them."<23 Despite recent catastrophe, history was not the endless rolling of a Sisyphean stone, and it was not the part of men of faith to surrender to pessimism, but to "set themselves into the current of events and find fresh opportunities for dragging in the Kingdom."<24

Although some castigated the old world in its case for believing in the evolutionary coming of the kingdom, the most vocal students and leaders of the movement utilized the same concept in a more activist cast, and interpreted the kingdom in terms of the "evolution of humanity . . . towards the higher and universal type of society where the energies now dissipated in enmity (and sin in all its forms) will be conserved in a correspondingly higher quality of insight, achievement and experience . . . "25 . . . The outlook of the SCM progressives and radicals clearly dovetailed with the social, political, and economic aims of those associated in the Canadian Forum. Rejection of traditional authorities in church and society led Hooke to sympathize with workers who turned to socialism and

²¹Editorial, Canadian Student, Oct. 1921, pp. 5-6.
See Edward Trelawney (Ernest Thomas), "The Christian Students are Moving," Christian Guardian Oct. 1921, p. 13.

²²Editorial, Canadian Student, March 1919, pp. 1ff.

²³Ibid., Feb. 1921, pp. 9-12. The source of this wording is not given.

²⁴Ibid. ²⁵Ibid., March 1921, pp. 11-14.

criticized the church for alliance with the vested interests. "The frank confession of those in the Church who really care is that he is right."³² The editor of the Canadian Student interpreted "reconstruction" in Canada as requiring a good deal of pulling down.³³ In 1921, the pulling down and reconstruction not having taken place, he foresaw only a future of economic "boom and bust."³⁴ With an election in the offing, articles in 1921, one of them by Ernest Thomas, urged students to view their interests and outlook as identical with those of the Progressive party.³⁵ When the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order was formed in the United States in 1923 under the chairmanship of Sherwood Eddy, the editors of the Canadian Student were eager to call to the attention of readers the founding of an organization dedicated to "the creation of a social order, the Kingdom of God on Earth, wherein the maximum opportunity shall be afforded for the development and enrichment of every human personality, in which the supreme motive shall be love; wherein men shall co-operate in service for the common good; and brotherhood shall be a reality in all the daily relationships of life." To this end the fellowship would attack luxury, concentration of power and privilege, autocratic control of industry, production for individual profit and power, all race, class and national antagonism, and war.³⁶ It was in line with criticism of the Canadian social and economic order and in sympathy with the newly founded fellowship that the editor of the Canadian Student, observing the new Labour government in England, announced a close relationship between "real thinking and radicalism."³⁷

³²Ibid., Nov. 1918, pp. 18ff. ³³Ibid., Jan. 1919, pp. 1-2.

³⁴Ibid., Nov. 1921, pp. 1-2. ³⁵See above, p. 214.

³⁶Ibid., March 1923, p. 26. ³⁷Feb. 1924, p. 131. ¹

Its attitude toward the Church was part of the SCM's radicalism. Peter Paris reflects:

¹Allen, The Social Passion, pp. 302-308.

It is not unfair to suggest that the SCM had many misgivings about organized religion and the Church in particular. Because of the Church's reluctance in coming to appreciate modern science it was criticized for being hostile to mental freedom, indifferent to beauty and insistence on an outdated morality. The Church was criticized for being reactionary, for the inconsistency of classical systems of theology with the ethics of Jesus in the face of the imperialistic and ruthlessly competitive society.¹

A new student generation arrived in the mid-twenties and the veterans departed. Post-war reconstruction and bringing in the kingdom of God had been the goal of social gospel SCM'ers. The editor of the Canadian Student wrote of the change:

The new generation, we hear, is singularly unmoved by anything outside its somewhat conventional range of interests, it has no burning sense of the great problems in the world and takes no responsibility for trying to settle them. It is extremely frank in stating its own opinions, but these when heard are far from reassuring to those who look for a renaissance of thought and action deeply rooted in belief. It is a little cynical, a little egoistic, not at all anxious to be disturbed.²

SCM'ers at summer conferences in 1924 were very much interested in learning about Jesus but not passionate about any crucial problems.

Bible Study in the SCM was steadily displacing all other study in the movement during 1925, though Religion and Science were still of great interest. It was clear that the SCM was very much concerned about discovering its task in this new day, now that the initial idealism re: bringing in the Kingdom of God, and establishing world

¹Paris, "Study Life of the Movement," p. 12.

²Editorial, Canadian Student, October, 1924, p. 4.

peace had died down since the movement's beginning.¹

By 1926 there was a resurgence of interest in the personal aspects of religion in the movement, but often this meant "enjoying the quiet, thoughtful study of the life of Jesus" and wondering whether "anything with such an individualistic aim (should be called) by such a collective term" as "movement."⁴⁸

⁴⁸Canadian Student, March 1926, p. 168. See also Nov. 1924, p. 51 for a report on Richard Roberts' presentation of personal religion to a camp of the BC unit.²

But questions were also being asked which struck at the rationale of a social gospel. Helen R. H. Nichol, SCM national education secretary, wrote in March:

. . . The life of Jesus itself reveals an individual's relation to others; there is no record that a diverse community ever translated his way into active life. . . . It is time that the Student Movement faced this problem. It is a fellowship in the life of a very small nation. Are there any within that group of nominal followers of Jesus, are there in any group in any College, unique and contrasted individuals who are united in a "Christian" attitude and action with the attitudes and actions of other groups in Canada? As a group of student movers, are they a fellowship that will adopt and stand behind a recognizably "Christian" attitude to a social or political problem in Canada or in any country? It is not "Will Jesus' demonstration of life work?"; it is "Has it ever worked?" "Does it work?" "Is it practicable for group living in the relations of human experience?"

I should like to see a small conference of students who have all done enough study and following of Jesus to understand him, consider together whether Jesus' life is any answer to this problem.³

¹Paris, "Study Life of the Movement," p. 21.

²Allen, The Social Passion, p. 310.

³Canadian Student, March, 1926, pp. 165-66.

The "issues that moved to the centre of SCM concern as a sense of crisis in its concepts broke into full awareness in 1926" were that a vital renewal of the relationship of religion and social reform would have to be mediated by a new sectarian community, a deepened religious experience, and a more profound social understanding.¹

According to an editorial in the Canadian Student this experience and understanding were not to come from participation in "practical politics" of the day. The student:

is too much in the world. But what is particularly bothering us is the orgy of political campaigning that so frequently seems to sweep across the campus of the university. Why that most objectionable feature of national life should be introduced into the centre of learning and culture is almost inexplicable. . . . No, far from living in a world of seclusion the student is slavishly imitating the man in the street, whose leader he is eventually to become. . . .

We said that the only cure was a philosophy of life, a philosophy that penetrates beneath the crust and discovers within a new standard, a norm by which values are unerringly determined. One thinks of the ease with which Jesus disposed of the Pharisaic demands for external authority, of the certainty with which he translated his convictions into action. To him who has discovered that there is no external authority, the dictate is from within. To draw aside the veil that obscures that inner light is to achieve the greatest thing in life; it is to discover life itself. Perhaps we know the secret; Jesus did. It is sacred, but it can be found--by searching.²

The problem thus posed was to be confronted by the conference scheduled for Christmas vacation, 1926-27: "to think out the practicability of the ideals of Jesus and the

¹Allen, The Social Passion, pp. 311-312.

²Editorial, Canadian Student, February, 1926, p. 1.

implications of the Christian way of life for group living with particular reference to the National life of Canada."¹ Proposed questions for the conference were "How may an individual express in our present systems the truth that he finds in Jesus?" "Is the disharmony which many individuals feel between themselves and their systems contrary to the teaching of Jesus, or to the impracticability of that teaching, or to something in the individuals themselves?"²

Here was no echo of the great call to build the city of God that had summoned the national conference of 1922-23, but rather a manifestation of perplexity and basic re-considerations. A question mark was clearly being etched in 1926 above the synthesis of the studies of the life of Jesus and the social gospel. Significantly, the conference of 1927-8 was not to be open, but inclusive of members only. The title of the conference study book, Man At Odds With His Society⁵² suggests the Niebuhrian phrases of neo-orthodoxy, such as "Moral Man and Immoral Society" that was shortly to mark the break-up of the continuities of the old social gospel in America, and herald the emergence of a new, more radical and realistic social Christianity. That end was not in sight in 1926 and 1927.

⁵²SCM of Canada, Man At Odds With His Society.³

What was happening in the mid- and late 1920's was still focused around the theme of the social gospel, but instead of its propagation, it was the challenge to its message in which the SCM was immersed.

¹SCM National Archives, Minutes, General Committee of the SCM of Canada, January 2-3, 1926.

²SCM National Archives, Minutes, General Committee, September 24-26, 1926.

³Allen, The Social Passion, p. 311.

Of the first decade of the SCM's history, the editor of the Canadian Student reflected:

The SCM came into being at a time when youth was passionate in its desire for a new world. The spirit to reconstruct, to recreate society in such a way as to give opportunity for real living to all men and women, to all classes, races and nations permeated thought and effort. If there was scepticism regarding traditions and institutions and unwillingness to sit at the feet of the elders, it was due to the feeling that the new order must be built out of new materials and by new methods. Such was the temper of the students whose representatives met at Guelph in the winter 1920-21.

With the passing of time the temper has changed. Today there is less criticism, less dissatisfaction, and in spite of the fact that there is a seeming contempt for the wisdom of experience, there is a readiness to share with older folk and a turning towards external authorities. It is not to be wondered at that there has come a demand for re-thinking the place and purpose of the SCM in the life of the universities. The General Committee meeting in September last, named a commission to give leadership in the study of the "Aims and Basis" during the year. If the students have sufficient interest and concern to express their minds and feelings clearly and forcefully, there may well be a significant change in the organization and life of the movement.¹

Allen ends The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28:

It was not surprising, however, that as the social problems of a growing industrial urban society multiplied and as new currents of social thought developed, the urgency of the evangelical concern to save this man now, should have been transferred to the social sphere and social action become virtually a religious rite. Nor is it astonishing, although it was hardly intended by social gossellers, that the social gospel represented

¹Editorial, Canadian Student, December Leaflet, 1930.

Canada in mid-passage from a society that was jealous of the status of its churches to one that comfortably wore the habillements of secularism. The social gospel's heavy emphasis on the immanence of divinity in the social process, for better or for worse, encouraged the development of a secular society, and at the same time imparted, at least for a time, a sense of meaning to that development that was essentially religious. But the immanence of divinity cannot be long sustained, and the new orthodoxy of the mid-twenties (one of social service and business efficiency, the radicals said), entailed not simply temporary compromises but a degree of disengagement with the divine vision and the decline of the social passion. A new religious experience and a genuine sense of divine transcendence, or a comfortable complacency were the primary alternatives of the new situation of the latter 1920's. Both could be readily observed.

Here was an end to enchantment. The orthodox might have foretold it, but most of them had not taken up the whip of cords against the defilement of the temple. In their righteousness they had nothing to say. In the search for a valid Christian ethic for industrial Canada, they were irrelevant. In its application, they were often at the centre of the problem. But was the process of reconsideration, evident in the writing of Ernest Thomas and stirring in the struggles of the Student Christian Movement with such themes as "Man at Odds with His Society," a ground of hope that a new, more adequate social conscience than that fostered by the social gospel was being formulated for the day when again "an angel would trouble the water"? To answer the question would be to begin another story. The epilogue of the social gospel is the prologue of the Radical Christianity of the years of the great depression.¹

In this first decade of the SCM's history, dominated by the Social Gospel theme, then, students were responsive to the currents of thought of the time.

There was a great recovery of the life of Jesus in theological study, and these studies were open enough to recapture

¹Allen, The Social Passion, p. 356.

the historicity not only of the person of Jesus but the biblical [context]. A whole revolution was going on in theology through form criticism based in Germany and spreading through the world. [These] were all elements which prepared the way for an interpretation of Christianity that was live, that was rooted in humanity, responsive to movements within the human community and directed towards the concerns of man.¹

The next account we begin is of the Radical Christianity of the years of the great depression. Although some students in the Maritimes and the West were hard hit by the depression, it does not appear to have been a catalyzing agent for a new thrust in ideology in the early 30's. One of the SCM's leaders, Gertrude Rutherford, in the closing session of the Canadian-American Conference (Christmas vacation, 1933-34)

expressed the thoughts and feelings of all of us when she said: "It is hard for us to be realistic at this moment in regard to unemployment, nationalism and race. The delightful isolation and the comforts of this campus, the happiness of our life together, make the world's problems seem unreal and far removed."²

The conviction that there was a need for social change was becoming more popular, however. The report of General Committee, 1933, shows that the majority of local units endorsed a change in the statement of "Basis and Aim." An added sentence reads: "The Movement desires to share with others

¹Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

²SCM National Archives, Report of the Meetings of the Canadian-American Conference, McMaster University, December 29-January 1, 1933-34.

the values discovered in Jesus Christ and to join with those of like mind in all lands and of every race and rank in the creation of a world-wide order of society in harmony with the mind and purpose of God as revealed in Jesus Christ." The significant movement this represented was toward involvement of individual SCM'ers in associations committed to concrete programmes and action.¹

The Canadian Student in an editorial for March-April 1934 quotes from the report of one of the local units:

Students of to-day are more perplexed and baffled than any of our century. They see a world toppling about them. Old patterns that had stood the test of centuries are dissolving before their eyes. New forms in government, industry, and every phase of life are being set up. New experiments of the most radical nature are being tried, some of them on a colossal scale. Traditions, customs and institutions are being swept away. Even moral codes are losing their authority and power.

For the first time in the history of our Canadian universities students find themselves being trained for work that they may never have a chance to do. With all their qualifications, they, like youth in general, see themselves likely to join the ranks of the unemployed, unwanted by society.²

Furthermore,

the fact that Hitlerism, Communism and Fascism were becoming meaningful alternatives to students in many parts of the world introduced a certain element of fear in the thinking of Canadian students for many were beginning to see the necessity of doing something in the name of the Christian

¹Ernest A. Dale, Twenty-One Years A'Building (Toronto: SCM of Canada, 1941), p. 36.

²Quoted in ibid., p. 37.

faith to offset these alternatives. In 1933, the assumption of power by the Nazis in Germany and their subsequent withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference made the threat of World War more imminent than ever.¹

The records of the official voice of the SCM, National Council (composed of officers, members representing local units, and staff members from local units), begin showing a strong emphasis on social concerns in 1935. What would once have been envisaged as the "Kingdom of God" became a hope for "a new social order." A Committee on Social Action reported to the September 1935 National Council:

The aim of the SCM in regard to social questions is: to encourage the study of social questions in order to develop a Christian social conscience with a view to eventual action by the individual or by groups of individuals, whether graduate or undergraduate. By study is meant personal contact with social situations including social service projects and political activity, as well as the reading and discussion of books, the object of which is to understand the causes of social evil and the nature of Christian action in the redemption of society. While re [sic] recognize the need for relief work, this is not enough in itself for those who take the social situation seriously, and wish to make a constructive contribution. Contact with concrete situations through social service should lead to a study of the fundamental causes and so to "social action."

In the fulfilment of the above aim, the question is whether the Movement as a whole should take a definite attitude regarding certain major social questions, such as war, capitalism, property. We recommend: (1) In general, the primary responsibility is to promote study,

¹Paris, "Study Life of the Movement," p. 34.

education, and individual participation in organizations dealing with the issues raised.

(2) There will be certain issues regarding which a definite judgment must be made and action taken. In taking such action the factors to be borne in mind are--(a) that it is only justified after thorough study of the issues; (b) that such action should not exclude from the fellowship of the Movement sincere Christians who hold other views; (c) that in view of the constitution of the SCM of Canada being an affiliation of local units, such national action be taken only after the opinion of local units has been fully canvassed.

The following questions are noted as among those deserving study in the present situation--Christianity and Capitalism; The Possibility of an Alternative Motive to that of Private Profit; The Morality of the Wage Relationships; Social Security and Insecurity; A Collective Peace System; Economic Nationalism.

The following questions are selected as of peculiar urgency, since in our view they should condition both thought and action in relation to society: (1) What is the Christian conception of property, and what bearing has it upon private ownership, the use of wealth and the control of the means of production and distribution? (2) What is meant by the class struggle and what is the Christian attitude to it? (3) Granted dissatisfaction with the present state of society and the fact that change of some kind is inevitable and is actually taking place, what is the Christian method of social change? (4) In a situation in which practically throughout the world, whether under capitalism or socialism, the individual is being sacrificed to the community, what part has Christianity to play in re-affirming the value of the individual: In what way does true Christian community differ from the collectivities which make up society?¹

At National Council of September 1937 the Commission on the SCM and Social Issues reported:

The SCM approaches its responsibilities regarding social issues from its understanding of God, of His Nature and the nature of man and society as revealed in Jesus Christ. We affirm that God is the Father of all men and that

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 7-10, 15, 18, 19, 1935, Appendix B.

all men are brothers. Any society that denies this fact denies the nature of God thereby, and is doomed to its own destruction.

We regard poverty, war, social inequality, race prejudice, class conflict, etc., as evidence that our present society in effect denies God. It follows from this that the Christian has responsibility for establishing a society in harmony with the nature of God, i.e. a society that will provide equal opportunities for all to live the abundant life.

A. Because of this, we believe it is the responsibility of the local units of the SCM:

(1) a. to inform themselves of all the facts available by means of study, investigation and association with actual situations, in order that they may develop intelligent attitudes and take appropriate action. For this purpose, we recommend such projects as (i) rural and urban seminars; (ii) association with laboring groups and promotion of study groups that keep in close contact with actual situations, such as factories, unemployed groups, and individuals most affected by the class struggle and racial misunderstanding.

b. to clarify our understanding of Christianity and hence our particular responsibility in our world. For this purpose, we recommend such projects as (i) a study of the Christian revelation as found in the Bible with special reference to the life of Jesus and the prophets and the history of the Church; (ii) groups that would endeavour to discover what they believe and to understand the beliefs of others.

(2) to accept responsibility for making Christian students aware of the social issues confronting them, and of the Christian contribution to their solution. This may be done by such means as the National Conference.

(3) a. to cooperate, wherever possible, with groups such as Social Service Councils, for understanding and assisting in specific projects;

b. to cooperate, wherever possible with other movements, such as the Youth Council, which seek peace and social justice.

B. We recommend that the National Executive be instructed to explore the possibility of adding to the National staff a secretary responsible for SCM activities in the social and economic fields, following the National Conference. ¹

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 8, 9, 10, 11, 18, 19, 1937.

By National Council 1939 the broad underlying principles of the SCM's social concerns came to a focus in the Report of the Commission on the SCM and the World Crisis:

This Commission discussed the role of the SCM in the present crisis and recommended suggestions for programme. In so doing, the Council was conscious of certain considerations.

(a) The Student Christian Movement has responsibility for maintaining its Christian work among students in Canadian universities. In its ministry to students the Movement has already [sic] tried to be a fellowship in which the issues of personal and corporate life have been clarified for its members by reference to the Christian Gospel, and in an atmosphere of freedom and tolerance. It is of supreme importance that in this present crisis, which has involved Canada in war, the Movement continue its normal work, and also face the added obligation imposed on it of helping students to see the implications of the conflict for themselves.

(b) Believing as Christians do in the essential dignity and worth of every man, we are compelled to do all in our power to preserve the measure of democracy we now enjoy and to extend it wherever possible. That will mean our unalterable opposition to racial prejudice and all attempts to create racial hatred, discrimination and persecution.

(c) One of our important concerns in seeking a democratic ordering of human society is the nature of the settlement which will follow war. In order that we may seek a just and equitable peace, we must in our programme make every effort to keep informed about the nature and cause of the war, the transformations necessary, nationally and internationally, to remove causes of future war, so that our judgments may be free from revenge and made in the interests of true and lasting peace.

(d) As we face the year's work in the Movement, we are unified in our resolve to preserve and extend democracy. We do not all agree as to the means of so doing. Some of our number feel that war is inevitable and necessary at this time in order to defeat the forces that deny God's universal Fatherhood. Others within our fellowship feel war is the supreme violation of human personality and a denial of God's will. But this difference need not impair our fellowship in the Movement, but rather help to make it deeper and richer, especially as we recognize our common concern to reaffirm our purpose and fellowship in the special task this crisis lays upon us by:

A. Re-affirming and clarifying our understanding of the Christian Faith with reference to the demands of the present situation by study of the Bible and the history of the Christian community.

B. Attempting to understand the issues at stake in the crisis--

(1) through a study of the underlying causes of this war, and particularly of the threats to democracy by fascism.

(2) through keeping open channels of communication by personal contacts and correspondence with students and staff people in other countries.

(3) by the use of visitors and by the exchange of students at conferences--regional and national between United States and Canada.

(4) by being aware of the exploitation of loyalties and patriotic sentiments by propaganda.

C. Defending and Extending Democracy--

(1) The Dominion Government in its Declaration of War affirmed that the war is being waged to defend democracy. We are obliged to safeguard our democratic liberties and to protest against all threats to those liberties in university life.

(2) In so doing to cooperate with other agencies whose concern coincides with our own in these matters.

(3) to protest against unjust restrictions and persecution of minority groups in the community.

D. Being prepared to give help to students in selecting the best kind of service they can render in the present situation.

E. Maintaining fellowship with individuals on the campus under pressure because of religious convictions.

F. Assisting and cooperating with churches in Canada and abroad, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A. and other groups in preserving the above aims.

G. Rendering all possible service to Refugees work as outlined by the Student War Relief Committee.

H. Supporting and participating in all efforts of the W.S.C.F. (World Student Christian Federation) with reference to the crisis--in respect to special War Fund, deepening fellowship by support and encouragement through contacts and letters.¹

In December 1941, at Aurora, a twenty-first anniversary conference was held. The National Council September 1942 report:

calls attention to the statement of policy and program for the Movement outlined at the Aurora Conference. The Movement is challenged to dedicate itself "to the creation of

¹National Council Minutes and Reports and Reports, September 8,9,10,11,18, 1939, Appendix D.

a world-wide order of society in harmony with the mind and purpose of God as revealed in Jesus Christ," and further requires of its membership a discipline of training for the achievement of a democratic order of society. This means that the Movement must take action on the campus to ensure democracy there first of all, and further to act in the larger society for a Christian and democratic order, particularly through the channels of the World's Student Christian Federation and the International Student Service.

In times of crisis, issues become clearer and sharper. There has been for some years a growing realization that the conceptions of the function of a university in society and the function of a student are inadequate. The idea that teaching in a university should be "objective" has often resulted in the failure of the classroom to give any leads to the student as to how he can use the knowledge he has gained for the benefit of society; or, what is worse, the classroom has failed to give him any conception of the responsibility to society. In effect, universities are turning out specialists in certain technical fields with no conception of the forces at work in society, and with no wish to take their place as responsible members of society. The idea of knowledge for its own sake is no longer able to meet the crisis in society. . . .

We feel that as SCM members we must bring a Christian conception of life to bear as a critique on present day university society. This has profound implications on our life as students. It means that we must approach our studies in all subjects, not merely as students who happen to be Christian or as Christians who happen to be students, but as Christian students. The Commission feels that, if we really do this, it will mean a change in our whole conception of university life. It will mean that we cannot regard the SCM only as an extra-curricular activity, but also as the central experience of our student life, in terms of which we act in the university situation. Our first responsibility is to be good students, giving our studies due consideration and doing well whatever is at hand to be done. . . .

With no feeling of self-righteousness but recognizing the fact that many areas of university life are unworthy of our democratic and Christian tradition, the Commission recommends that SCM units take an active part in making student government more democratic and helping students recognize their responsibility toward this end. The local campus job at hand, we feel, is of more importance than an academic discussion of problems in the distance.

Nevertheless we realize also the important part the SCM

should play in helping students to understand and exercise their responsibilities as citizens. This involves a study of political and economic issues so that we may practice our democratic ideas intelligently. We encourage members to stand behind the system that seems most democratic and urge them to participate loyally in voting so that their democratic views may carry some weight.¹

These statements of National Council commissions take us from the period of "Radical Christianity" of the great depression to its eventual subservience of this outlook within the movement to those who felt a "real cleavage between this social concern and a plausible theology."² This latter transitional period will be discussed after a closer examination of the SCM's "Radical Christianity" of the 1930's has been made.

Some evidence has already suggested and Chapter Three will substantiate it that in issue-oriented terms the main concerns of the SCM in the 1930's were expressed over the depression and the threat of war. The thinking behind the positions taken on these issues was influenced to a great extent by, among others: John Macmurray and Dr. Reinhold Neibuhr.

J. King Gordon, himself a guiding light of the SCM in the 1930's wrote in the Canadian Student in 1938, in reviewing Neibuhr's Beyond Tragedy: "Reinhold Neibuhr has been the greatest influence

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 9-12, 18, 19, 1942.

²Paris, "Study Life of the Movement," p. 48.

in religious thinking of the student of this generation."¹

Recently, in a public panel and again in private conversation, he declared the immense and fundamental influence which Niebuhr had on his own and the SCM's thought.² Of Niebuhr's contribution to the Christmas 1937 National Conference which the SCM called, Ed Lute wrote in the Canadian Student:

The presence of Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr at the conference was a tonic for mental and spiritual inertia. He has a whip-like mind that lashes out unmercifully, cutting the legs out from under sloppy thinking. He said that men persist in giving their loyalties to relative and lesser values which are incapable of sustaining them and that activity, if it is to be truly significant, must be related to and directed by what he called the "Source of life beyond all life." The assumption implicit in liberalism, however, is that we are the source of all life: that through the instrumentality of our infallible human reason we can extricate ourselves from any predicament we get ourselves into. There is nothing mystical in a denial that the ordinary conscious reasoning processes of the human animal are adequate to effect his own salvation. It is simply a recognition that such a view derives from a faulty and incomplete interpretation of human nature. For it implies that the barriers that cut across our social and national life are merely intellectual or technical and that they may be solved by a process of reconsideration and rearrangement. Such an interpretation fails to recognize that the real, the fundamental problems of our society be beyond the realm of the intellectual and the technical, the political and the economic, and they are beyond the instrumentality of the mere discussion, debate and ordinary educational processes. Fundamentally our problems are moral and religious, rooted in the fullness of human nature and not merely in one of its aspects, the intellectual for example.³

¹ Canadian Student, April 1938, p. 59.

² SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

³ Ed Lute, Canadian Student, February, 1938, p. 25.

Niebuhr, says Gordon, was not completely refuting the earlier Social Gospel, but was introducing the concept of realism. Niebuhr, "while acknowledging the need for political action saw the ethically compromising tendency of politics and the illusory nature of political utopias and held that religion and the ethic of Christianity were over and above any convenient but necessary political doctrine and practice."¹ In Niebuhr's terms the Christian had to say "I as a Christian have to take part in politics, realizing political action is a compromise, to move slowly in the direction of the kingdom of God; a man is obligated to move in politics even though his goal is receding."²

On the other side, said Gordon, was Harriet Ward, who saw socialism and even Communism as a relevant expression of Christianity in his day. Ward's followers were those "heavily influenced by Marxism, who saw the situation in power terms, political terms, pointing to the need for political action which would bring about a fairer distribution of material resources."³ Those who laid this emphasis on the efficacy of politics sometimes cut themselves off from Christian sources, finding sufficient motivation in a Marxist rather than a Christian utopia, with some moving right into the Communist camp. There were those

¹King Gordon, Panel of the 1930's, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

²King Gordon, interview, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

³Gordon, Panel on the 1930's SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

(amongst whom Gordon includes himself) who oscillated between the positions of Ward and Niebuhr; the tension which developed into a much more active conflict in the 1940's was accomodated by a sufficiently warm SCM community in the 1930's.

King Gordon himself was a major figure in the SCM in the period of "Radical Christianity." The sort of thinking to which students were exposed at conferences throughout the 1930's where he spoke is shown in this excerpt from an article he wrote in the Canadian Student in 1936:

The freedom of the individual in the economic world has led to the rise of a dominant economic class in control of the means of production. Social and economic development has been basically determined by the position of power in society of this dominant class. Its control has shown itself in the continuous attenuation of the economic freedom and security of the individual who has only his labour to contribute to the productive process. It expresses itself further in the control over legislation in the interests of the dominant class and in the effective control of the channels of information and propaganda. It has led to the greater and greater intervention of government in business, as benefactor of the dominant economic class (subsidies and tariffs); and on the other hand to its attempted control over the more predatory expressions of economic exploitation. The crisis has increased inevitably this intervention in the interest of saving the economic structure and in the interests of preserving the lives of hundreds of thousands of defenseless individuals who are unable to find any useful field of occupation in society. The inefficiency of democratic government in the discharging of this two-fold role has tended to discredit democracy in those states and regimes where economic disintegration has reached its most acute form. The preservation of democracy depends upon bringing under control the forces of economic anarchy and the power of the financial and industrial oligarchy exercised without reference to the social well-being of the mass of the people. Such effective control points in the direction of the socialization of the basic means of production and the

co-operative organization of economic life to take full advantage of the material abundance made possible by technological advance.¹

Gregory Vlastos (now chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Princeton University) represented the essentially Christian inspired stream of the SCM in the 1930's. This Christian motivation for him centered around the ethic of love--"to me this was always the fundamental thing in Christianity before I ever saw the social implications, and certainly after--the idea that God is love," which Vlastos sees as a convertible proposition. This ethic of love comes from Christian resources.

The ethic of loving your fellow man not only sensitizes you to suffering of others and makes you feel that you yourself cannot let yourself out of this responsibility [for the suffering of others] but it also guides you in the matter of tactics. How are you going to deal with your opponent, your adversary? Our Communist friends felt not only that they were entitled to it, but their duty, to use certain descriptions of their adversaries--"the capitalists" or whatever it was which belittled them, demeaned them as human beings. . . Where are you going to draw the line? Are you going to say that even when you're fighting, and fighting meant including even the Second World War--because I was in that situation--do you really love your enemy? It seems to me that it makes an enormous difference--if you're guided--if you take that commitment seriously and say, if I'm fighting the Nazis, I'm fighting them because of love for the German people--and you mean that--that's not. . . a phrase.²

The SCM'ers exposed to these various thinkers felt themselves attracted because the SCM offered "a community of searchers where it was acceptable not to trust the old institutions, where

¹J. King Gordon, "The University and the Crisis of Democracy," Canadian Student, October, 1936, pp. 7-8.

²Gregory Vlastos, Panel on the 1930's, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

one's questioning selfhood was welcome. We were 'poisoning the student mind'; we were getting rid of orthodoxy on all fronts. . . This community was very open."¹

In summary, although Niebuhr's influence was great already in the 1930's, this does not rule out the description of the period as one of "Radical Christianity," for "Reinhold Niebuhr, who has a considerable following as an outstanding champion of 'the social gospel,' espouses right-wing conservatism in theology, but left-wing radicalism in politics and economics."² The period of Radical Christianity, then, included a minority group heavily influenced by Marxism (identified by Gordon as followers of Harriet Ward) and a group of Radical Christians, some of them followers of Niebuhr, who were quite frequently prepared to make common issue with Marxists, but who in their radical politics still thought of themselves as being Christian by a definition of relationship to the tradition of the person of Jesus, and had very much concern for persons in the system, unlike Marxism.

Murray Brookes, the general secretary of the SCM during part of the era, sums up this period:

Can you imagine the SCM functioning against a grimmer

¹Ruth Cunningham Isbister, Panel on the 1930's, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference. For an explanation of 'poisoning the student mind', see Appendix.

²M.C. Otto, "Neo-Thomism and the Aggressive Growth of a Religionless Church," in Religious Liberals Reply (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1947), p. 74.

backdrop, in a bleaker context, or under circumstances more difficult and at the same time, more challenging than those? How did the Movement meet that crisis? Caught, like everyone else, in that terrific blizzard, what course would the students follow? They were not all of one mind--whenver did students all think alike? A sharp difference of opinion split them broadly into two main groups. Some, the majority, saw one imperative course, --as a Student Movement and as a Christian Movement; they insisted that they must come to grips with the paramount issues of the time and discover what relevance, if any, the Christian ethic had for them. First of all, they must dig out for themselves the basic reason for the universal mess, get to the bottom of the troubles plaguing mankind and, if possible, become sufficiently informed and enlightened to be able to show a light to others. Numerous study groups were formed, all centering around the burning desire to discover something approximating a Christian Social Order, if such condition could be found. The Study of the life of Jesus, given so much attention in earlier years, was gradually pushed into the background in most centres, though it still occupied a prominent place in others, as having relevance to the problem uppermost in all minds. In the main, the social and political reformers had the floor. Gregory Vlastos, King Gordon, Eugene Forsey, Agnes McPhail and such American visitors as Harry Ward, Henry Nelson Weiman and Rheinhold Neibuhr [sic] were in demand everywhere. As was to be expected, the SCM was soon in hot water for placing too much emphasis on social questions. In fact, criticism came from many sources. Different persons complained that we were too much interested in economics, that we were too academic, that our groups got nowhere and were little better than a pooling of ignorance, that we were just a bunch of "pink" socialists, that we had no right to the name "Christian," that we had all turned "red," that we talked all the time, didn't know what we were talking about and, even so, did nothing about it. Yet, in spite of such a barrage of barbed comments, the students refused to be diverted from their main purpose to find the solution to the world's great puzzle. Anyone with a pat answer was received with scepticism, and though willing to listen to anyone claiming to speak with a prophetic voice, they were convinced that their only hope lay in ferreting out the answer for themselves with whatever agony that procedure demanded.

A minority group thought differently. They claimed that the answer was available and that Russia had sown the way to the world's salvation. They wanted the SCM to become a

crusading Movement, the spearhead in a nation-wide effort to put everything to rights in conformity with the Marxist pattern. The activities of similar groups brought complete disruption and death to some other movements but the SCM was sturdy enough to withstand their influence and to live through the storm that they created. They did, however, subject the Movement to severe strain and, undoubtedly, were an indirect factor in turning it into a more theologically-minded Movement, a tendency, I may say, about which some former members were none too happy.¹

The SCM's ideology may be interpreted in terms of the currents of the era. "The genius of the time as I would understand it was of drawing the whole insights of Jesus and the whole Biblical message to the interpretation of human events as distinct from the heavenly realm of the past."² This characteristic may be seen in the National Council statements from which quotations are given above, and which may be taken to represent the mainstream of thought. The "human events" in need of interpretation were indeed grave--depression, and threat of war. In the same decade, the external stimulus of Marxism also influenced the SCM; a number of persons began quite seriously considering the insights of Marx as contributing to their life style and understanding. The direction its ideological development took was also heavily influenced by the SCM's internally directed activity--choice of leaders and conference speakers, whose ideas SCM'ers readily absorbed.

¹SCM National Archives, Murray Brooks, "The Student Christian Movement of Canada--1927-1938," a speech delivered at a Conference of Committees, held on January 17, 1953.

²Gerald Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

The tension that had been accomodated in the 1930's came to a head in 1941 and 1942--"the split between the status quo (generally speaking) of liberal humanists represented by the politically progressive disciples of Sharman ('Records of the Life of Jesus,' 'Teachings of Jesus' etc.) and a growing body of more orthodox theological students," renting asunder influential parts of the Canadian Movement.¹

Puxley, writing in 1953 when he was national general secretary, looks back at the transition this way:

The Canadian SCM's interest, amounting at times almost to an obsession, in the political and economic implications of the Faith gradually engendered a reaction. From about 1943 onwards a change began to come over the complexion of the Movement. Labels are highly misleading and greatly oversimplify the issue, but it might be said that almost a struggle set in for the soul of the Movement between the "political" party and the "Church" party. There were, of course, no such parties, and individuals would have found it difficult to classify themselves under either head. But gradually, particularly after the establishment in 1944 of the Canadian Council of Churches, in the foundation of which, in accordance with its genius all over the world, senior members of the SCM played their part, relations with the Church notably improved. Interest in the political and social implications of Christianity, while remaining always keen and fresh, no longer approached its previous exclusive proportions. Instead it was gradually replaced by a predominantly theological interest of a neo-orthodox variety.²

Another document says:

¹SCM National Archives, Addendum (by John Rowe) to University News and Analysis: For Graduate SCM'ers," Oct. 25, 1948.

²SCM National Archives, Rev. Jim Puxley, "The Student Christian Movement of Canada," 1953.

Wartime circumstances have also produced developments within the thinking and programme of the movements. One might instance Canada, where a rather sterile tension between a "strong political and anti-church" element and a "neo-orthodox" element, by which the ordinary member was left baffled and frustrated, became resolved in face of the tremendous needs of students for a message and direction. The process was painful and the result has to be tested by the years, but there is abundant evidence of new life and enthusiasm.¹

This neo-orthodoxy, said to have triumphed at the 1944 National Council ("although it appears to be a fact that many of the delegates were unconscious of what had really happened") after the confusion and lack of direction at the two preceding National Councils, was characterized as follows:

The neo-orthodox group is not to be confused with the fundamentalists. This group is concerned with the source of the dynamic of the Movement. It feels that primarily Bible study gives the dynamic. It is tired of liberalism and looks urgently for a loyalty in the resources of Christian experience. It believes "Christian faith cannot be rationalized, naturalized, or turned into a science." It is "committed to a faith which declares that God has made His purpose known in the midst of human life and in terms of human need." This neo-orthodoxy rejects the teachings of Jesus as primary, and would have us think that man is understood in terms of God rather than God in terms of humanity.²

This was neo-orthodoxy as understood by Canadian students. Gerald Hutchinson, General Secretary of the SCM from 1942-1949, comments:

¹Out of Weakness Made Strong: A Report on the Life of the National Student Christian Movements Related to the World's Student Christian Federation during the Years 1938 to 1946, p. 16.

²"From the Brief Presented by the B.C. Unit to National Council," Canadian Student, Dec. 1944, XXIII, 2, pp. 28-30.

I think that it's pretty doubtful that many of the Canadian Movement really became in a real theological sense neo-orthodox, that this word was commonly used, but that we were on the whole much too liberal, much too optimistic; we hadn't been hurt and we hadn't seen the depths, and the sort of thing that had created neo-orthodoxy in its real way. . . . With European theologians, the gap was just deep and wide.¹

"Neo-orthodoxy" for the Canadian SCM meant "a much more concerned use of biblical sources, and a much more concerned use of biblical theology and use of biblical language, and this type of thing."²

What was seen as a "predominantly theological interest of a neo-orthodox variety" and "new life and enthusiasm" did not preclude political concerns--in fact, in the eyes of some, basic theological and political analysis had to go on along with political action. In 1948 John Rowe wrote:

Yet, today, we have developing in the Movement a radical consciousness which is arising, not in reaction to orthodox theology, but directly and organically from within it. In fact, I would say that one of our most urgent tasks is to ensure that this growth continues on a theological basis and does not shake itself loose for want of dogged and devoted effort and attach itself as another "humanist" appendage to the LPP clubs on campus. If this happens, the SCM will cease to be the SCM, or else it will fall completely into the hands of the organized churches with their increasingly ecumenical anti-Communist attitude.³

John Rowe was part of a group of Anglo-Catholics who

¹ Hutchinson, interview, May 16, 1972, Edmonton.

² Ibid.

³ SCM National Archives, John Rowe, Addendum to "University News and Analysis: For Graduate SCM'ers," Oct. 25, 1948.

though they presented a sharp challenge to the leadership of the Movement were able to find a kind of amalgam with the neo-orthodox strain. Neo-orthodoxy was a part of the environment of the thinking of the day. Into this environment came, for example, John Rowe and Vince Goring, who

were sort of imported leadership (from British Guyana) if you wish, and they found a movement that was ready. We'd had a tradition of political activism, but we were short on ideas at that stage in the game. We had discovered a new kind of theological rooting and reassertion of Christian relationship, alright, but were somewhat uninformed; we didn't have a strong [political-social program] going at all. It was the kind of thing, then, into which they could just come and find great acceptance, and they became a focal point for ideas.¹

National Council Minutes through 1946 reveal differences of opinion which it was hoped the "openness" of the movement would accommodate. In 1947, however, National Council's Political Commission made a stronger statement (than, for instance, the 1945 statement of "The Student Christian Movement Active in the Secular World"):

I. The Christian and Society

We reject the view that society is essentially evil and that, therefore, Christians can do nothing to change it but must rely on purely personal salvation. We believe:

1. that the whole natural order is the creation of God and cannot be, in any sense, evil.
2. that man has, by the free exercise of choice, distorted the natural harmony of the universe.

We, therefore, believe that man, acting under the guidance of God, must work to change society into an order which is more in harmony with the will of God.

¹Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

Because we believe that the land and means of production are ultimately God-given and that men should hold this property in stewardship for God, we feel that free enterprise with its emphasis on the complete right of the individual to do what he will with his property, is basically anti-Christian. We feel that this system has depersonalized men by its emphasis on technology and production above the essential Christian regard for the worth of the individual. Therefore, we suggest that a system of economic democracy in which the land and means of production are operated by the elected representatives of the people to meet the needs of all is potentially more Christian than the present one, and is, therefore, a goal toward which Christians ought to work. We nevertheless affirm that no political blueprint is completely Christian and that Christians must stand within but above any given system.

There was a division of opinion in the commission on whether the use of force can ever be considered in accordance with the will of God. We feel that Christians should consider this question very carefully since it is one of the most important issues in the Christian community today.¹

A few weeks later the Toronto Star in a news brief on the Council, published the resolution. Students in SCM's across Canada who did not think that free enterprise was unchristian were quite indignant at the stand taken by the Council. Some local units as a whole were against the resolution.

Yet again in 1948 National Council's Commission on Politics, "in analyzing current social patterns in our society" made the following "observations":

1. There is an emphasis in society that man has the right to do what he will with his private property without reference to the will of God or the needs of his fellowmen.

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 4-13, 1947, Commission Report No. 4, "The Political Aims and Responsibilities of the Christian Student."

Because we believe that the means of production and the land are ultimately God-given; because we believe that men hold these in stewardship for God and man, and are therefore responsible to God and man; because this possession of property enables some men to exercise control over other men, we feel that this emphasis is anti-Christian.

2. The employer-employee relationship in our society generally gives the employer an arbitrary control over the means of livelihood of the employee and makes the employee dependent on the mercy of the employer. The security of a man's livelihood must depend upon justice objectively embodied in an economic organization of society. Because we believe that all men are brothers and equal in the eyes of God, because we believe that all have the right and duty to work productively, therefore, we believe that the dependence of the employee on the wish of the employer spoils the brotherly relationship of God's children and is essentially anti-Christian. We would further point out that the main way in which workers have fought this arbitrary control has been to organize in trade unions in an attempt to form an organization powerful enough to resist the employer. The logical and inevitable outcome of this is the battle being fought today between large international trade unions and the capitalist monopolies.

3. We would stress the fact that there are Christians within each group and that their duty is to work as members of a common fellowship to remedy the evils we have mentioned. We suggest two social patterns which will help to eliminate this conflict and which are, therefore, potentially more Christian:

a) Co-operatives, which give employees the opportunity to participate in management.

b) A system of economic democracy in which the land and the means of production are operated in such a way as to give all members of the community an opportunity to decide on the manner in which the goods and services of society are produced and administered.

We do not suggest that the achievement of a new structure of society will solve all the problems; nor can any new structure be identified with the Kingdom of God.

Part of the "Christian Doctrinal Basis" behind this analysis

is:

Since the true end of man is to be found in his personal relationship to the living God and to his fellowmen, any

social system will be judged by whether or not it provides freedom for this fellowship to exist. Since man has been, and is, a sinner, the Christian must oppose inordinate concentration of power for this represents too much power in the hands of creatures who inevitably abuse it. Since man is finite and sinful, the Christian will recognize that every human culture has its limitations and cannot, therefore, be permitted to become static or be made sacrosanct.¹

Producing and reflecting this kind of integration of theological and political thought in the late forties was the work camp movement. The orientation in working terms was towards industrial and mining enterprises at first, and then mental health focus, and in theological terms had a quite explicit background.

The strength of such a camp lies not in the positive experience of work done to the glory of God but rather in first-hand experience of the problems and tensions in the midst of which thousands of men and women are required to work. One director of such a camp said about it:

"This camp has shown that society as at present organized runs directly counter to all that Christianity teaches about social organization in its relationship between men and God. . ."

Closely related in the Work Camp experience to the experiment in the interrelatedness of work and worship is the experiment in community living. . . It is . . a discovery, through actual experience, of the ways in which the possibility of true community is denied by the impersonal and highly competitive organization of modern society.²

In a tribute to Lex Miller, the director of the first SCM

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-23, 1948, Report of the Commission on Politics, pp. 51-52, 49.

²SCM National Archives, document on work camps, n.a., n.d. (probably written in the late 1940's).

(with the Christian Work Camp Fellowship) work camp, and "a representative of the new theology in [the SCM's] midst," a writer in the Canadian Student describes the new theology:

Lex Miller claims that Christianity is for the whole of life and that the struggle for the true health of the wider society, for "justice within the State," is as much the Christian's responsibility as the struggle for reform within the Church and within our own soul. He has made us in Canada acutely aware that our loving God is also a righteous God, and that politics and economics because they belong to Him, must be made to conform with His will. He has infected our bloodstream with a deep sense of social responsibility and with some of his burning concern for the welfare of the "brethren for whom Christ died."

"What shall I do with my life?" This question is on the lips of many Christian young people, some of whom see the ministry as the only specifically Christian thing they can do. Lex gave us some definite ideas about what he considers to be Christian vocation, and they spring from his fundamental conviction that the only way to make economics and politics "holy" (i.e., healthy or wholesome) is for Christians to get into the struggle. "Every secular field," he might well say, "ought to be swarming with Christians who work for the establishment of justice with the means at their disposal, the only thing distinguishing them from non-Christians in the field being the efficiency of their work and their incapacity for personal resentment." This means that some young people ought to be choosing such things as politics and industry as Christian vocations. . . Lex feels that the great mass of our Christian people belong to the middle class, which in relation to the working class is economically privileged. Can Christians put their back into the struggle for social justice if they themselves are in an unjust economic relationship with large numbers of their fellow men? "Not without being hypocrites," says Lex. He would suggest that Christians should adopt some scheme whereby a group of individuals and families limit their personal spending power. (Lex himself is a member of a "National Average" group in Great Britain. . . Lex claims that to be brothers in Christ is to be brothers in a very concrete way, and that amongst Christians there should be "economic solidarity". . . He is saying that wide divergencies of material prosperity among Christians themselves should

not exist. The early Christians were of a like mind.

Japs . . . repatriation . . . spies . . . civil rights . . . democracy hate [sic] humanity . . . atrocities . . . These words have been the centre of fairly lively discussions on Christian university campuses lately. Lex's stand with regard to race can be summed up in the familiar passage: "In Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew . . . barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free." In fact, he would list race as one of the three large areas in which the Church must reform, economics and nationalism being the other two .¹

Peter Paris analyzes the change that had taken place in the forties:

The typical SCM attitude before the war was that Christianity was to be tested by its social, political and economic relevance and by its capacity to show a way out of the world's distresses. But during the war the SCM slowly was driven by the necessities of thought and practice to reverse this order of ends and means. Now the SCM was beginning to see that when it thinks of the Christian impact on the secular world, it is not primarily as individuals of good-will scattered throughout different secular jobs and organizations, but as members of a world-wide Church. Thus our activity becomes a part of the redemptive purpose and work of God in the world. Our achievement of good is not our own but God's. The concrete and practical implications of this was [sic] seen in terms of vocation and a new form of evangelism.²

That not all SCM'ers agreed with the thrust of the work camp movement (as with National Council's 1947 Political Commission report, as has already been suggested) is also evidenced in the diverging views expressed in a whole run of articles and letters on Christianity and free enterprise in the Canadian Student through 1948 and 1949. An article in the December 1948 Canadian Student (first presented at a conference of SCM staff and students in

¹Dorothy Beales, "Lex Miller: An Appreciation," Canadian Student, December, 1945, pp. 24-25.

²Paris, "Study Life of the Movement," p. 51.

Toronto, May 12-15, 1948, and also summarized in the "University News and Analysis: For Graduate SCM'ers", already referred to) -- "The University: The Left, the Rest and You" --apparently was involved in a good deal of dissention at the Queen's local unit, for one. Its chosen option for meeting the ills of the liberal capitalist society ("the tolerance in liberalism is founded on intolerance of any ideas threatening its basis--the capitalist mode of economy--just as free enterprise in capitalist countries is possible only on the basis of colonialism, i.e.: subjugation of peoples beyond the bonds of these countries") was:

the progressive attitude of aiding the communists in guiding the economic and political revolution. Those who hold this attitude are not out to destroy society. They are only sure it is destroying itself. "Picketing, propagandizing, promoting pressure groups, doing research, finding new techniques of thinking and analysis useful for the labour movement, preparing the new society within the womb of the old." This is the work to which they will give themselves.¹

Again external as well as internal SCM factors can be seen in any interpretation of the nature of the SCM's ideology during this period of the 1940's.

Certainly the war, and the advent of Hitler. . . raised the terrible shock to the liberalization of Christianity and the kind of progressive social change that was envisaged. . . . We certainly shared in the [belief] that there were things that could be done to make this world a pretty good place. And the development of Hitler, and what

¹SCM National Archives, "University News and Analysis: For Graduate SCM'ers," October 25, 1948, p. 4.

appeared as really the demonic power, and what evolved as the inevitability of great destruction rising out of the capacities of men was a very disheartening thing to people, and it was this setback of humanity--it was this terrible chasm opened up that was certainly one of the real conditions that involved a new theological understanding, a whole new approach to it.¹

Into this environment were injected leaders who found students ripe and ready to respond to their ideas--of the extrapolations to be made from their neo-orthodox or Anglo-Catholic theological ideas, for instance. The Cold War presented new problems for SCM response, but initially the same tools of analysis were used to meet them.

In the decade of the 1950's, the SCM did not seem to develop a distinction of its own, and its political expression came chiefly in its relation to other groups, which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

There were no further Political Commission reports throughout the 1950's after the 1950 report which National Council could not agree to accept or reject. Key political issues were the SCM's relationships with the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students.

In the early fifties the general secretary expressed definite uneasiness "at the pronounced accent being placed nowadays on the 'C' in our 'SCM'. The Movement has become almost alarmingly

¹Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

Christian and that is alarming if it reaches the point where the intellectual agnostic or other enquirer cannot find a niche for himself in our midst."¹

He expressed the same sentiment in the Canadian Student, pointing out that "during its history some of the greatest work of the Movement has been done with this type [the intellectual agnostic who finds himself as yet unable to commit himself to any faith but who is still prepared to consider Christianity as a live option]."²

Because of the SCM's traditional openness of membership it easily moved into an emphasis on dialogue with non-Christian students and professors, in its lecture series, study groups, and in the late 1950's "agnostic conferences", and in the 1960's, coffee houses. Peter Paris notes:

The SCM suffered much criticism for this [dialogue approach with agnostics and humanists] but today we discover that the "New Theology" has emerged with its emphasis on "secularity" and the necessity for Christians to become secular and be with non-Christians in fellowship and dialogue. This theology is acceptable to the World Council of Churches in its studies of approaching Muslims, Buddhists, etc. and by the World Student Christian Federation in its world renowned document, "Christian Presence in the Academic World." The underlying philosophy is what the SCM of Canada has been acting upon for many years.³

¹SCM National Archives, Jim Puxley, "Reflections of a New General Secretary," January 1, 1950.

²Puxley, Canadian Student, January 1950, p. 33.

³Paris, "Study Life of the Movement," p. 70.

But although there were still political concerns in the SCM in the 1950's, there was a polarization, and the demise of the integration of politico-socio-economic, and theological, dimensions. This was exemplified, in the eyes of some, in the political struggle in the board that directed work camps -- the extension into mental health projects, done purposely, took away the work camp thrust of a radical critique of society and began the trend toward the "mental health kick" of finding an integrated community where one would be accepted.¹

The SCM's character in the 1950's may be interpreted in light of its environment.

The universities were hotbeds of quietism. The Protestant churches, if one looks no deeper than the newspaper, appeared to spend a good deal of energy fighting their old enemy, drink, and some of their money at least on full-page ads against proposed new violations of the Protestant Sabbath. Perhaps most people were simply content to live in decent and comfortable obscurity, aspiring to an affluence almost within reach, and to think as little as possible about the searing experience of depression and global war they had lived through for twenty years and might momentarily be plunged into again.²

In addition to the lack of stimulus from the external domestic scene, internally the SCM did not seem to have been particularly inspired by leaders who challenged it to new thought or action, as had happened in the 1930's and 1940's.

¹An Interest Group on Political Radicalism, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

²William Kilbourn, "The 1950's," in The Canadians 1867-1967, ed. by J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, Canada, 1967), p. 309.

Kilbourn says that by "1950 Canada was in spirit, word, and deed thoroughly committed for the first time to an internationalist position in peace-time and to new and unfamiliar responsibilities in the world community." An internationalist position was not so unfamiliar in the SCM tradition, but the self-consciousness of its relationships with the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students may be seen in the light of the new consciousness of Canadians generally about such issues.

The 1960's were characterized in the SCM by a "God-is-dead" theology and a range of political attitudes, from an a-political character accompanying a concentrated introspectiveness, to political radicalism sporadically expressed through the Student Union for Peace Action, in particular, and then within the SCM itself.

In the early 1960's, the SCM increasingly lost its sharp focus on social questions and turned to introspection--"not that that [introspectiveness] hadn't been there before, but there was no sort of counter-foil or balance against the outside community. We sort of ate each other up."¹ People were talking about the "tactile community." For example, in the 1964 National Council

¹Ibid., p. 315.

appendix to the Current Issues Report the following analysis was attempted:

It is evident both in the Work Camps and in a few of the local units that there is an increased interest and emphasis on personal relationships. This seems to reflect an increasing involvement of the students in problems of insecurity, identity and alienation. This increasing need for personal support and affection can be discussed in terms of the concepts of redemptive community, dialogue, confrontation, etc. This also implies major changes both in the structures and concerns of the communities as well as in the different methods and symbols of communication. This transition can probably best be understood in the light of Marshall McLuhan's (Gutenberg Galaxy) theory of a change in our society from a singleminded, linear, visual, verbal orientation to a tactile emphasis which prefers to deal with persons rather than issues, which stresses the significance of empathy and understanding rather than logical analysis of problems and which needs and wants sympathy rather than theoretical agreement.

This change in structure and emphasis is most evident in the work camps where personal identity and community are of much more concern than "Automation" or "Industrial Society." But the development is also found in local units or here at National Council.

Another way in which this changed understanding becomes apparent is in a new concept of mission and witness. We have become very aware of the limitations and even uselessness of much of verbal communication, especially of empty proclamations. Rather we see our witness, or better, "commitment" is [sic] a much more active way, a commitment to a program of action such as the Acadia volunteer work project or the La Macasa Peace Project.¹

Behind this statement was a prevalent belief around this period amongst SCM'ers that "commitment" was essential and integral to one's thinking, that one couldn't develop a position

¹ National Council Minutes and Reports, September 7-17, 1964, Appendix A to Current Issues Report.

unless one acted.¹ The thinking from 1959 up to this period is seen by at least one participant to have been "pretty naive--there was no thorough-going political, economic, and social analysis of society" and National Council resolutions are seen as "pretty liberal sorts of statements simply because we didn't have any sort of tools of analysis."² SCM'ers did work at what was a rather inchoate kind of theological reflection--probably the advance wave of the period--along the lines of the Robinson Honest to God studies, popularly known as the "God-is-Dead" theology.³

Yet the 1964 statement quoted from National Council reports, with its talk about "tactile community" also expressed what many call a "navel-gazing" period of the SCM's life. The "apolitical" nature of the SCM in 1965⁴ may be partially explained by the exodus of the more radical political element into the Student Union for Peace Action. Meanwhile the work of the Development Committee's sub-committees was coming to a head.

A key point of the whole debate is revealed in the minutes of the Development Sub-Committee on Basis and Aim meeting of

¹ Fred Caloren, Interest Group on Political Radicalism, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

² Eilert Frerichs, Interest Group on Political Radicalism, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

³ John A.T. Robinson, Honest to God (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963); John A.T. Robinson, In the End God (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1968).

⁴ Don Wilson, interview, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

March 23, 1965:

Discussion of substance centered about the validity of "C" in SCM and the validity of openness. The choice was stated as being between an agnostic-humanist movement or one with a minimal confessional basis. The trouble with the old statement seemed to be that at this time the lines are drawn elsewhere than it draws them; it envisages a mass of confessing Christians and a fringe of inquirers, whereas we have a comparatively small number of strong confessors and a majority of seekers. Moreover we tend to seek answers in other than a confessional form--i.e., through involvement rather than words--or perhaps give up a sincere search for "answers" altogether.¹

One local unit secretary wrote to the General Secretary (National): "It is time the forty-five year old question of second-class citizenship for non-Christians in the SCM was resolved."

The subcommittee itself felt the need for a new statement because "the old statement employed a theological jargon likely to discourage interest; was theologically biased ('social gospel' emphasis); was confessional in a way that belied the openness of the movement; misrepresented the relationship between faith and doubt as commonly experienced in the movement."²

The significance of this particular expression of a debate in which the SCM has been involved periodically, ever since its inception, is indicated by the action of the national staff mem-

¹SCM National Archives, Development Sub-committee on Basis and Aim, Minutes, March 23, 1965.

²SCM National Archives, Development Committee: Report of the Subcommittee on Basis and Aim, 1964-65.

bers, who in September 1965 submitted their resignations to be effective at some point between June 30, 1966 and June 30, 1967, so that the Movement would not have to consider specific personalities in thinking of new structures and changes in direction. T.A.M. Barnett, Fred Caloren and Nancy Dunlop wrote:

The National staff covets the opportunity to be involved in the reconstruction now so clearly immersing [sic] in this National Council. We do realize however that the changes are so fundamental that it may be difficult or impossible for them to take place unless the Movement is free to choose the kind of personnel it needs.²

An attempt was made to "grasp something of the broad social revolution which provides the perspective in which we must view the SCM in its current crisis." An outline of the issues raised and discussed at one meeting of the constitutional committee, for example, includes: The Crisis of Identity, The Search for Humanness, Trend Towards Anarchism, Growing Regimentation and Anarchy, The New Priestcraft of our Society, The Need for a New Ethic for a New Era, The Gap Between the Generations, Frustration.³

The climax of all the "Basis and Aim" and "restructuring" discussions came at a special session of National Council (1965)

¹SCM National Archives, letter, T.A.M. Barnett, General Secretary, to Rev. Gordon Baker, Editor, Canadian Churchman, Nov. 11, 1965.

²SCM National Archives, letter to the Student Chairman, April 12, 1965.

³SCM National Archives, Constitutional Committee--Draft Sub-Committee, November 7, 1965.

held in February 1966 at Aurora, Ontario. A document was presented for discussion in the name of the Constitutional Committee: "Preliminary Report and Proposals for the Restructuring of the SCM of Canada"--popularly known as the "buff document" embodying the "agora concept." It gave as the "Raison d'etre" of the SCM:

The Student Christian Movement has never sought to escape the world or the university. It has always stood with people--albeit shakily--where they find themselves, in the centre of crisis and change, struggling to be open, to listen and to serve. Therefore, if ours is a period of transition, the SCM must also be in transition--when, indeed, has it not been so? It too, will seek to live in that twilight between the setting sun of its previous history and the dawn of a new day, a new world, a new university. (Some might call it the "dark night of the soul.")

What is the distinctive contribution which the SCM can make to persons seeking wholeness in the university and world "come of age"?

Although the SCM was often considered to be the agency of the Church in the university, with specific responsibility to interpret the Christian faith to students, and was at the same time a militant proponent of social justice, and a midwife to such agencies as W.U.S.C., C.U.S.O., and S.U.P.A., on most camps today it shares these tasks with a plethora of chaplaincies, denominational clubs, political action movements and functional and interest-oriented groups. All of these contribute to the fragmentation of the student world on the one hand, and to saturation of its life on the other. With most of our former jobs being performed--and often well--by specialized agencies and organizations, we may now devote our energies to a distinctive role more desperately needed than ever before, and for which our peculiar tradition has prepared us: --to provide an agora, an open forum which will facilitate the encounter of persons in freedom and acceptance, and the forthright exchange of ideas and questions. The rhythm [sic] of the agora will be its style of life: --the rhythm of reflection and action, the movement of freedom and responsible involvement.

The report spoke on "Context and Constituency":

Our setting shall be the whole university, and the society of which it is becoming an increasingly related part.

The constituents shall be all those "students", whatever their place within or without the university--be they undergraduates, graduates, faculty of administration--who, at any given time, and in any given place, participate in one way or another in the exchange of the forum. Most of these may be unconscious of, or uninterested in its structure. The concern of some will go beyond the issues to the forum itself and its operation. They will constitute an inner core who work as well at fitting out the forum for its task and overseeing its working.

On "Aim" the report declared:

The goal of the forum which we propose shall be to enable men and women, in spite of the fragmentation and decadence which confronts them on every hand, to realize the richness and wholeness of a more fully integrated humanity.

The "Introduction" is also revealing in its orientation:

The world is in ferment. Ours is an age of revolutionary change. The talons of technology, mass communication and the tragedy of "le tiers monde" grip men throughout western civilization. Many traditional values and world-views have crumbled under the impact of an increasingly cosmopolitan, interdependent and mobile pattern of life. Crises are inevitable. The search for identity, the groping for humanness, the trend toward political anarchism, the corporate necessity of regimentation, the need for relevant normative values, the widening gap between the generations and the blatant injustices of a divided world society are wellsprings of agony for countless men and women. They swing on a pendulum between hope and despair, elation and dependency.

Universities in Canada reflect the contemporary era. Indeed the university has become a "multi-versity." Although it may once have been a setting for scholars bound together by a common quest for truth, at present it is frequently a loosely-knit collection of technical schools designed to provide a dependable stream of trained personnel for the burgeoning needs of a pluralistic society. At one time the university may have been the critic of society; now it is its microcosm. Once a community, now a corporation.

University students in Canada live in the midst of social and academic crisis. They are often perplexed and ambivalent about their predicament. Their doubts and hesitations are deeply personal and existential. Their questions are often of the following kind, each a touch-stone for a whole range of hopes and fears: --

1. In the consumer rather than the job oriented society, where shall I find my identity?
2. In a society characterized by its decadence, its instinct for death, where shall I find meaning?
3. In a society of anonymity and depersonalization must I always confront my fellow-man as a stranger?
4. In a society where power is gradually being funnelled into the hands of a technological elite which governs by technique rather than by law, where shall I find the power to be free? If I dare revolt, will it result in utter anarchy or will it be crushed by computerized totalitarianism?
5. In an increasingly functional society will my emerging system of values be founded solely on utility?
6. In the cybernated society, shall I, mere man, become obsolete?
7. In a society exploding with frustration wrought by rapid change, will my generation and that of my parents drift apart with sadness or clash with bitterness?
8. In a world which is increasingly interdependent, shall my western industrial culture continue to colonize the rest of the world and preserve its own wealth in the face of poverty; or will contemporary Rome be sacked?
9. In a society where homo faber appears to possess mastery over himself and his world, what is God that I should be mindful of Him?
10. In a society which worships the "Baal of Progress" through the cults of psychiatry and public relations, is God incognito, in eclipse, or is He dead? My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?
11. What possible reality and significance can the person and presence of Jesus have in this kind of world? Or Socrates, the Buddha or Gandhi?¹

¹SCM of Canada, Minutes of the Special Session of National Council (1965) -- Anglican Conference Centre, Aurora, Ontario, February 18-20, 1966.

The "buff document" was rejected by a vote of approximately 3:1 (though one informant suggested that by default--there being no new alternative statement of self-understanding accepted than what was in the old "Basis and Aim" --it became the defining statement of the SCM). Because of the way the lines were drawn in the debate, it appeared that all was being rejected, though some participants who voted may in the "all or nothing" vote have sympathized with some of the document's ideas. "The issues were on all sorts of levels--the dialogue was not."¹ (See Chapter IV, below, on issue of government support for 1965 Christmas conference--whether to accept or reject--an issue at the special session.)

In criticism which also seems to have been voiced at the special National Council session, one group wrote:

Page one mentions "countless men and women" who "swing on a pendulum between hope and despair, elation and despondency." We think that such a back and forth swing of the pendulum has always been possible in the Canadian SCM, because our aim and basis, however cloudy, has been based on a particular theological horizon (which had something to do with Jesus Christ). This horizon was never something that we could quite pin down but it gave us a frame of reference and gave our words some meaning (however difficult). This liberated us, so that the Canadian SCM has always been free to change and move with the time.

But this report seems to freeze the pendulum at the despairing end of its swing. It over-identifies with university students whose questions are cries of anguish, despairing of modern society, which is described as decadent,

¹Informant at SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

death-bent, anonymous, depersonalized, etc. etc. The melancholy eloquence here almost makes one forget that it was against precisely this kind of negativity that Harvey Cox directed his "Secular City."

These questions are being asked by a person who is not only immersed "in a society" which he despondently paints in depressing colours, but who is almost if not completely absorbed in that society, so that, bereft of any point of reference beyond society, he comes dangerously close to seeing it as absolute. We notice that such questions fit in well with an agora, which has no frame of reference beyond itself within which to discuss problems (if any problems be miraculously diagnosed!) and so its so-called openness becomes a narrowing, and its "freedom" becomes a cage. We notice also that such questions, with their rejection of society as thoroughly bad (though simultaneously tending to make it absolute for lack of anything beyond it), are followed quite logically by a "Raison d'etre" which has left the fight for social justice to others. The report speaks of "responsible involvement" (p. 3), but since society is rejected as a lost cause, there is nothing to be involved in but "involvement," nothing to be free for but "freedom," --empty words like the meaningless "agora," uttered by authors in the "twilight," the "dark night of the soul."

The only think [sic] that gives meaning to the theory-section's otherwise empty talk of "encounter of persons in freedom and acceptance" or to its otherwise groundless goal of "the richness and wholeness of a more fully integrated humanity," words which sound naively optimistic in the context outlined above, is the incredible statement of faith at the end of the section and the curious quotations at the beginning.

The "incredible statement of faith at the end" and the curious quotations at the beginning are:

We affirm our faith in the future of the Student Christian Movement, in that

1. The SCM is a community of students within the university which encourages and enables students to engage in the struggle of man to become fully human--to know the richness and wholeness of life.
2. The SCM desires to involve all persons, be they Christians, men of another religion, or men of no religion, in the hope that they may grow into a deep and responsible concern for the wholeness of life and for the wholeness of the lives of men.

3. The SCM has no product to sell--rather we encourage students to become involved in the SCM and in the university so that we may become the product in which we are primarily interested--a truly and fully human being.
4. The SCM rejoices in the acceptance of and trust between persons which is found in genuine openness in human encounter.
5. The SCM sees as central to its life the common search of men of differing perspectives for an adequate understanding of the human condition, and it values the resulting encounter, dialogue and tension.
6. The SCM does not have ready made answers to the complex questions which force us in so many fields but we attempt to be a constant source or responsible concern and so ensure that the tough but important questions of our age are kept before us.
7. The SCM attempts, in this whole question, to bring to bear the best of human thought, including the light shed by Jesus Christ and the Hebrew-Christian faith and tradition. We do not despair of this unending struggle for we live in the faith that these questions have specifiable answers; that men, if they seek shall find and come to know what is true.

"Rather every good and true Christian should understand that wherever he may find truth it is in his Lord's."

St. Augustine.

"I simply argue that the Cross be raised again at the centre of the market place as well as on the steeple of the Church. I am recovering the claim that Jesus was not crucified in a Cathedral between two candles, but on a Cross between two thieves, on the town garbage heap; on a cross-roads so cosmopolitan that they had to write His title in Hebrew and Latin and in Greek . . .; at the kind of place where cynics talk smut, and thieves curse, and soldiers gamble. Because that is where He died and that is what He died about. And that is where churchmen should be and what churchmen should be about."

George MacLeod Only One Way Left

"In our era the road to holiness necessarily passes through the world of action . . . Il faut donner tout pour tout."¹

Dag Hammarskjöld

So what do we recommend? We recommend that the Canadian SCM come out and honestly admit what it has actually been teaching students for years--that it is totally impossible for any individual or group to actualize the statement, "no

¹Minutes of the Special Session of National Council, February, 1966.

particular approach to what is human shall be favoured a priori". The best we can do is to become as aware of our approach as we can, and make it as adequate and liberating as we can.

To this end we recommend that the Canadian SCM, for want of anything better, provisionally adopt a Christian approach or horizon. People get very worried that "Christian" means some particular definition like "born again" or "Anglican" or "God is dead," or some particular parcel of prohibitions, like "don't drink," "don't be sexy," or "don't be radical." But to us it doesn't. It just means that whatever it is applied to has something or other to do with Jesus Christ. And as in the past the Canadian SCM has always been a group where you could freely hammer out whatever you think being "Christian" means, so we recommend that this possibility remain in the future. Is it particular? Yes, but we're aware of it. Is it partial? Only as partial as you yourself make it.¹

The next student president was an interim president, elected after the mid-term resignation, partly because of the defeat of the "buff document" at the Special Session in 1966, of the previously elected president. The new president made a "conscious decision to get out of the basis and aim game, and concentrated on structures, to get healthy enough to deal with substance."²

By 1968 "political radicalism was very much evident" (again) in the SCM. At the National Council meetings "We had a revolution because revolutions were 'good things' and even though the revolution when it took place planned exactly the same program as had been planned before the meeting, still it was a revolution."³

¹ SCM National Archives, "Critique of Constitutional Committee's Preliminary Report". No date. By "a small group of students and advisory board members of the U. of T. SCM."

² R. F. W. (Butch) Nelson, interview, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

³ Don Wilson, interview, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

It interested Wilson in 1968 "how so many of the same themes as the early '50's were being reiterated--a sort of Marxism--kind of neo-Marxist climate and again the idealization of the worker which is still existent in the SCM."¹

A statement adopted by National Council on National SCM Programme 1968-69 spoke of:

I. Our Emerging Concerns

"A developing radical perspective" characterizes the main thrust of a growing number of SCM in Canada. The shape and focus of this perspective are, as yet, difficult to perceive, but at least three major characteristics can be noted.

IT IS POLITICAL There is a growing realization that any attempt to deal with and purposively change the world and the university must involve an analysis of the structural roots and underlying assumptions and values about man, society, and contemporary social, political, religious, economic, and educational institutions.

IT IS CHRISTIAN As an individual and as a Movement we [sic] must confront and struggle with, in an attitude of openness, the major themes and claims of Christianity. Such a confrontation will be the basis of our radicalism and our hope.

IT IS PERSONAL To look at society and the university in a radical way means also to examine one's personal relationship to institutions and their assumptions and values. Political goals of radical change in the university and society must be appropriated honestly and as freely acknowledged personal goals if one is to be seriously involved in change.

The integration of these three--the political, the theological and the personal perspectives--into the Movement's life, locally and nationally, is, we hope, the basis of the SCM's development in the future.²

In a thoughtful analysis, Don Wilson, General Secretary at the time, wrote "The Year That Was--SCM 1968-69." He believed

¹Ibid.

²National Council Minutes and Reports, September 3-12, 1968, p. 5.

that "during the year SCM has emerged as a little more political but often the discussion has been marked by dogmatism and purist-minded elitism which ignored the opportunity for much wider participation relevant to the vast majority of students." His analysis of local SCM's is related, because of its parallel concern for degree of participation.

Local SCM's can be characterized by two tactical styles. There appears to have been no systematic discussion in SCM about these styles for some time.

One, sees the SCM as a community of concerned students and some faculty who establish for themselves an SCM image on campus through SCM program and the known participation of SCM'ers in other campus activities. The life and continuity of the group are regarded as important. The goal, broadly speaking, is to politicize at the grass roots level--to make as far as possible a maximum number of students aware of their existence as men through participation in community. Staff, when employed are seen as primarily related to the SCM community and its concerns as resource persons and enablers. This model has been the traditional style of the SCM since 1921.

The second pattern which has appeared, more because of drift than collective design perhaps, sees the SCM as a very small, mostly non-visible, group working as a catalyst to effect change. The SCM has little, if any, public activity of its own. The role of the SCM staff is to do "his own thing" resting on the assumption that an earlier SCM financial pattern of support will continue to pay the bills. In this model student participation in SCM as such is limited and staff basically operate much as a denominational chaplains [sic] with no direct responsibility to or for an immediate community. It is increasing [sic] difficult to think of this model as a student movement and to find financial and other support for this rather individualistic "missionary activity" in SCM in the university.

This analysis of the local situation was part of the thrust of Don Wilson's observation that "change demands structure. If SCM wishes to be involved in change it must rationalize its

structural needs."¹

Very recently the intent of National Council, in the direction of political involvement as it emerged again in 1968, has also included a concern for the Christian tradition's relevance; "worship, Bible study--all those kinds of activities and what they represent--had dropped out of the Movement pretty much--but the 1971 Council's and study session's concern with creation and environment, for example, was directly linked to Christian perceptions and conceptions."²

The predominance of the "God-is-dead" theology of the sixties in the SCM is an illustration of the SCM's penchant for "picking up the live idea of the time."³ So too was the introspectiveness and concern with inward-turned community of the SCM of the mid-60's. SCM'ers here again were showing the Movement's "sort of genius for smelling out what's going on and responding to it and claiming to it somewhat ahead of its time and tending to be radical in that sense";⁴ both the "God-is-dead" theology and the "sensitivity group" approach which work camps and other SCM groups began to display, became parts of the

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May, 1969, Donald Wilson, General Secretary, "The Year That Was--SCM 1968-69", final appendix.

²Don Wilson, interview, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

³Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

⁴Ibid.

popular culture. The rebirth of political radicalism later in the decade within the SCM and the participation of SCM'ers earlier in a radical group (Student Union for Peace Action) must be related to external campus events (the student power movement and the Vietnam war).

Many SCM'ers would no doubt take exception to a declaration that the SCM has had an ideology. Yet it is surely fair to say that, of competing ideologies within the SCM, there has been a dominant one (its nature changing over time) represented by National Council as the supreme policy-making body of the national movement and dominant personalities in the life of the movement. It is difficult, of course, to weigh the importance of various factions. The much-lauded "openness" of the "movement" has attempted to make room for all. But the dominant thrust of the SCM of Canada seems always to have been "progressive"--as a vehicle of the Social Gospel, including the "Radical Christianity" of the 1930's, as a conveyer of neo-orthodoxy issuing a deep sense of social responsibility, as a catalyst inspiring SCM'ers interested in the image of "Jesus as radical" to express political radicalism through their affiliation with other groups, as a source of "God is dead" theology on the campuses which turned some SCM'ers introspectively (organizationally and individually) inward and others into other groups, and now as an integrator once more--a proponent of "political theology." Marxists and

neo-Marxists have generally been visible and integral to the controversy over ideology, but not necessarily dominating.

More general questions on the ideology of pressure groups will be raised at the end of the next chapter, which surveys the second "segment" of the SCM's ideology--issues and actions taken on them. For now, although Chapter I rejected Cupps' propositions or hypotheses about "ideological interest groups" because of their theoretical grounding in an ideological-pragmatic continuum concept, it may be fruitful to look at two of his propositions from our perspective.

1. A well developed ideological dimension tends to increase the number of issues on which a group feels it must take a stand.

5. Ideology sometimes puts limits on the tactics or methods which a group feels it may employ.¹

Proposition (1) in our terms deals ("a well developed ideological dimension") with a group which has made its ideology explicit (rather than implicit and probably more narrowly expressed through a few particular policies on issues), therefore expressing it in a wide range of issues. Proposition (5) translated into our terms would mean that a group that is self-conscious about its ideology would also be self-conscious and particular about its tactics or methods.

¹Don Stephen Cupps, "Bullets, Ballots and Politics," pp. 87-88.

Let us proceed then to look at the number and content of stands on issues taken by the SCM, and at the actions which emerge from these issues, as part of our overall consideration of the ideology of a pressure group.

CHAPTER III

IDEOLOGY: ISSUES AND ACTIONS

Ideology "links particular actions and mundane practices with a wider set of meanings and, by doing so, lends a more honorable and dignified complexion to social conduct."¹ This chapter will deal with "particular actions and mundane practices" which are linked to the "wider set of meanings" depicted in Chapter II. It will show the SCM's position on the following issues: peace; international relations; minorities--the Japanese-Canadian, French-Canadian, Indian, Eskimo; and workers and industrial life.

Through the elaboration of the SCM's position on these specific issues, the chapter will be a further elaboration of the hypothesis that as a pressure group, the SCM will have an ideology.

The concern for the peace issue was expressed in pacifist statements in all periods (which were not unanimously accepted), in a 1931 petition to Prime Minister Bennett, in 1930's' statements which related the problem of war to fundamental faults in the social-economic system, in 1940's' statements affirming common goals of a democratic ordering of society but differences

¹David E. Apter, "Introduction," p. 16.

over the inevitability of fighting wars to protect these goals, in concern beginning in the late 1940's over the cold war and nuclear weapons--resulting in study and action through and to influence other groups, and in protest over the Canadian involvement in the Vietnam War.

Concern with "peace" and the arguments about pacifism were evident in the SCM from its beginnings. A booklet Some Canadian Questions: Studies in Preparation for the First Canadian National Student Conference, Dec. 28-Jan. 2, 1923 included a section on "Internationalism and War":

We must ask ourselves how far we are prepared to limit our national independence for the sake of humanity. We must ask ourselves how a law of love can be applied to specific international questions, and whether we are prepared to take the risk of applying it. We must have done with fear and casuistry in seeking for a way of peace through the teaching of Christ. We need today not new political philosophies but a new moral force . . . Vague, inarticulate aspirations after peace will not prevent war. To discover the way of peace we have to embark on a search which will require consecration, sacrifice, discipline; for the way of peace can only be discovered if ordinary people have a reasoned and passionate belief in the creative possibilities of peace and give themselves in a conscious effort to establish international solidarity.¹

The hymn of Quaker Pacifists during the First World War, "I Feel the Winds of God" was sung in the movement.² A Canadian participant in the Indianapolis Convention (one of the quadrennials of the Student Volunteer Movement, which was attended by and

¹Toronto, 1922.

²SCM Handbook, "Section Two," n.a., n.d.

influenced large numbers of Canadian SCM'ers) wrote in the

Canadian Student:

By far the most aggressive, determined, convincing group there were those termed "pacifists," and right now I want some of those professors, preachers, students and others who write and talk of pacifists as colorless, negative creatures "to forget it." They're not! They're fighting mad against a system of settling grievances that is prohibited even in lunatic asylums. And to destroy that system these same pacifists have adopted the most effective method conceivable: for it's clear that if sufficient of our youth can be convinced of the invariable futility of war and will refuse to fight--well, the old folks don't go to war anyway. . . . Pacifists, my hat is off to you, to your convictions and to your courage. May your dreams become the realities that Jesus desired for this war-cursed world.¹

C. H. Mercer saw a duty for youth:

"The effort to conquer China, Japan, Russia and Germany calls for all the energy of every young person in the world. These nations threaten to start another world war, and if the young people do not get together and force Chinese, Japanese, Russians and Germans to become our friends instead of our enemies--how shall we escape another war in 1945?"²

There were articles in the late twenties in the Canadian Student on "Disarmament," "The Next War" and "The Christian and War."³

One manifestation of this concern on the local level was

¹Canadian Student, February, 1924, p. 151.

²Canadian Student, March, 1925, p. 166.

³Canadian Student, articles in issues from 1927 to 1929.

a resolution (published in the Dalhousie Gazette of February 22, 1929):

1. That the Dalhousie Student Christian Association participate in the desire of Christian people throughout the world to strengthen the bonds of peace by a gradual reduction of armaments until complete disarmament has been reached.

2. That inasmuch as militarism engenders a spirit of war, it should in every possible way be restricted and finally stifled.

3. That the organization of O.T.C.'s will foster a spirit of international rivalry and distrust.

4. That University students, in the light of their broadened attitude toward life should strive to abolish war, and talk of war, and should not encourage a military attitude by participating or in any way encouraging said O.T.C.

The Dalhousie Student Christian Association [SCM] therefore considers that it is not in the best interests of international peace, good will and equity to harbour a militaristic movement in their midst, and wish to place themselves on record as being against the activities of the Officers' Training Corps.¹

An SCM-initiated petition signed by 10,000 Canadian university students said:

To the Right Honourable R.B. Bennett, P. C., Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada.

The undersigned students in Canadian Universities, recognizing the gravity of the decisions which will be made at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament in February, 1932, and appreciating the responsibilities which failure in that conference will impose on the youth of all nations, respectfully but urgently request you as the head of our national government so to select and instruct the representatives of Canada at Geneva as to ensure that Canadian influence will be exerted vigorously on behalf of significant reduction of armaments.

We further suggest that there are persons of outstanding political ability, not now identified with party conflict,

¹ Canadian Student, Editorial, March, 1929, p. 164, quoting from the Dalhousie Gazette.

including two who have served their country as prime minister, whose presence would both give weight to Canadian representations and reflect the serious thought of our best citizens; and we earnestly suggest that the delegation be in no case dominated by professional experts in the armed services, but by statesmen representing the higher aspirations of the world which was born of the Great War.¹

The petition had been drawn up at an SCM conference of students held at Elgin House, Muskoka, in September 1931. Student committees on disarmament circulated the petition, seeking to create an enlightened public opinion on disarmament; they organized public meetings and an extensive publicity campaign, receiving the co-operation of campus publications and student associations.²

The depression at the end of the twenties strengthened the concern for peace in the SCM--as evidenced in the decision to keep hymns with a military flavour and employing war-time symbolism to a minimum in the new SCM song book, and in the content of numerous articles in the Canadian Student and in the "SCM Corner" in Varsity, the University of Toronto student newspaper.³ Some related the problem of war to their fundamental disagreement with the existing social-economic system:

The private ownership of the means of production and distribution, by its very nature, leads to the stealing of pears. Under that ownership the machine must make profit.

¹H. Carl Goldenberg, "Canadian University Students on Disarmament," Canadian Student, January, 1932, p. 113.

²Ibid.

³SCM National Archives, Murray Brooks, "The Student Christian Movement of Canada - 1927-1938."

To make profit it must first have raw materials, and then be found within the boundaries of any one modern nation. Owners go abroad not to meet normal needs for the exchange of goods but to maintain their profits regardless of need. So long as that condition persists, there will be, de facto, a continuous war. In the end of the day, having done all we can to mitigate or avoid an open holocaust, we peace-makers are exactly what the militarists say we are--naive visionaries--unless we are willing to kill war where it is born. That is in the private ownership of machines.¹

Programming also reflected the concern for peace in the 1930's. A special event at the University of Toronto in 1935 was a Peace Service, held on November 11 (Armistice Day), as an alternative to the Alumni Federation's, who had rejected the SCM's petition to exclude the C.O.T.C. from the traditional Remembrance Day services. The SCM Peace Service was intended to fill the needs of those students who did not care to participate in a military remembrance. The organizers made a special effort for participation by international students, representing their belief in the need to develop international attitudes and work for peace. The SCM service drew a capacity crowd of 700.² (A note in the Varsity indicates that in 1937 the SCM decided to move the memorial service to November 10, leaving Armistice Day free for all students to attend the Alumni Service, and that the C.O.T.C. was officially invited to the SCM service.)

The concern for peace was similarly revealed in National

¹Raymond P. Currier, "Peace Sentiment or Peace Realism?" Canadian Student, November, 1934, pp. 32-33.

²Paris, "Study Life of the Movement," p. 46.

Council minutes. A committee report was received in 1935 and Council members were urged to bring this report to the attention of local units at the earliest possible moment:

Report of the Committee on Peace and War:

1. That the SCM of Canada, in accordance with its Basis and Aim as set forth in the Constitution, affirms:
 - (a) War (defining war as the organized use of armed force) as contrary to the mind of God and his purpose for man as revealed in Jesus Christ.
 - (b) Belief in the creative power of Love as expressed in and operative through human fellowship as the one means to accomplish that society of Man, which it conceives will be in harmony with God's purpose as revealed in Jesus Christ.
2. That the SCM of Canada believes the logical implications of such a position to be
 - (a) the renunciation of war as an ineffective means to achieve the state of society it believes God desires to create through man.

The SCM of Canada, however, acknowledges that the above conclusion is not always arrived at by those who begin with the same basic assumptions. It wishes to recognize divergent interpretations of "the Mind and Purpose of God as revealed in Jesus Christ," and trusts that such divergences will not disrupt the fellowship of the Movement or weaken its stand for Peace.

- (b) The responsibility for carrying forward peace education and action.

This committee confirms the statement of the report on Social Action that "in general the primary responsibility of the Movement is to promote study, education and individual participation in organizations dealing with the issues raised." The Movement suggests the following constructive proposals for the accomplishment of this purpose:

A. STUDY -- Study must be understood to include the intelligent observation of the structure of modern society gained through intimate contacts with actual conditions of life. This may come as individuals or groups, (as well as the examination of literature), and includes the bringing of speakers to the campus for groups and forums. Various subjects for study are:

- (i) The Christian Ethic and its Implications for Life;
- (ii) Causes of War as revealed through the social, economic, political, national and international structure of the world

society;

(iii) Existing Peace Movements and forces working for Peace, including methods in Peace Propaganda.

B. ACTION -- The SCM recognizes that under certain circumstances definite action should be taken by the National Movement as a whole or individual units. Conditions governing such action have already been set down in the report on Social Action. [See above, Chapter II, p.6].

The SCM of Canada suggests the consideration of the following courses of action to local units.

(i) Co-operation with the League of Nations Society and any other organization committed to the maintenance of peace. The Movement affirms that such co-operation should

not involve action which transgresses the ethic of the basic assumption laid down in the Basis and Aim.

(ii) Protests against forces which promote militarism, fanatic nationalism, and narrow patriotism, etc.

(iii) The utilization of Armistice Day for student meetings and parades which will arouse peace consciousness.

(iv) The use of questionnaires or peace ballots, etc., as a means to formulate public opinion against war.¹

One observer of SCM history wrote:

With the threat of World War II the pacifism of the Canadian students was sorely tested, until at National Council in 1939 the visits of European WSCF leaders challenged the isolation of this continent and the artificiality of the pacifist position then held. Pacifism wavered in the period of World War II though there were those who made a consistent and courageous witness as Conscientious Objectors in Internment Camps.²

The 1940 National Council's "Report of the Commission of the SCM and the War" expressed the attitude:

The Student Christian Movement is conscious that, in the midst of the tragedy of the times, our function is to bring to men the eternal truth of God. We affirm that God reigns, that His will will be done in the earth,

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 7-11, 15, 18, 19, 1935, Appendix C, "Report of the Committee on Peace and War."

²SCM National Archives, "Draft Material for Handbook," no author, date probably early 1960's, p. 5.

and from the perspective of God working in history, it is important that we make the eternal message of God relevant to our times. In its ministry to students, the Movement has always tried to be a fellowship in which the issues of personal and corporate life have been clarified for its members by reference to the Christian Gospel in an atmosphere of freedom and tolerance.

During the past year, the war has assumed vastly more serious proportions. The fall of European democracies before totalitarian aggression, and the threatened invasion of Britain itself, have shaken the faith of people in the power of a democratic nation to withstand by democratic means such aggression. We recognize even more deeply the grave danger of totalitarianism from within as well as from without. In the face of this situation, we value even more highly those democratic privileges which we now enjoy as citizens of Canada, and as Christians, we re-affirm our faith in the democratic way of life, believing that it ultimately is the only one which can survive. Believing in the essential dignity of every man, we are compelled to do all in our power to preserve and extend democracy, and we re-affirm our belief in racial equality. We are profoundly grateful for such privileges as have been ours by virtue of our membership in the World's Student Christian Federation, and we pledge ourselves to do all in our power to strengthen its fellowship and to contribute to its support. As students we would emphasize the importance of maintaining our universities as educational institutions in which freedom must be preserved.

One of our important concerns in seeking a democratic ordering of human society is the nature of the settlement which will follow the war. In order that we may seek a just and equitable peace, we must in our programme make every effort to keep informed about the nature and cause of the war, the transformations necessary, nationally and internationally, to remove causes of future war, so that our judgments may be free from revenge and made in the interests of true and lasting peace.

As we face the year's work in the Movement, we are unified in our resolve to preserve and extend democracy. We do not all agree as to the means of so doing. Some of our number feel that war is inevitable and necessary at this time in order to defeat the forces that deny God's universal fatherhood. Others within our fellowship feel that war is the supreme violation of human personality and a denial of God's will. But this difference need not impair our fellowship in the Movement, but rather help to make it

deeper and richer, especially as we realize through worship our common concern to re-affirm God's purpose and relate ourselves and other students who are insecure and perplexed, to His understanding and His love.¹

The commission proceeded to recommend the maintenance of contact by the SCM with students in the services, support of student relief through International Student Service, education and action for the needs of the interned anti-fascists, upholding the rights of conscientious objectors, study of military training within the university, support of effective efforts by the Canadian Student Assembly or other organizations to maintain and extend democracy on the campus, and emphasis in the study program to meet the needs of the present crisis.

The concern for conscientious objectors gained further consideration in a decision by National Council of December 1941. It was noted that, at the University of Saskatchewan, conscientious objectors were not allowed to take alternative training within the university, but were sent to B.C. lumber camps. A committee of four was appointed to investigate and compare the situation regarding conscientious objectors in Canadian universities, each National Council representative was responsible for having information about the situation on his campus sent to the

¹ National Council Minutes and Reports, September 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 22, 1940, Appendix C, "Report of the Commission on the SCM and the War," pp. 1-3.

above committee before January 15, and the committee was to study these reports and take such action as they considered the most effective under the circumstances presented.¹

What happened at National Council of September 1942 was interpreted differently by different people. One writer in the Canadian Student felt that the participants had tried to avoid the stand they should take on the war. He saw a choice of supporting a progressive war or supporting a reactionary war; a progressive war was defined as one in which the old order would be superseded by a pattern of society clearly more adaptable to new conditions, while in a reactionary war the old tradition simply succeeds once more in beheading the new (Edgar Snow credited). The Council, he felt, had come dangerously close to saying that it didn't really matter who won the war because the Kingdom of God was not going to be ushered in by it, which attitude seemed to him at best defeatist. His critic took issue with him expressing the belief that there had been no doubt in the minds of other students present--they were aware that the war was both reactionary and progressive and that in order to achieve a "Christian democratic order" they must put all their weight with the progressive forces. No formal statement had been made, she maintained, because they all took it for granted that this was their position; the point did not come up because as far as they were concerned, there was no issue.²

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, December, 1941, minutes.

²Glynn Firth and Margaret Dillon, Canadian Student, November 1942, p. 11.

Beginning in 1943 the SCM turned its thoughts to its role in post-war reconstruction amongst veterans and war-torn countries.¹

The cold war became the next concern of SCM'ers. The Canadian Student editorialized in December 1948:

It does seem that with the little time at our disposal before the bombs begin to rain down it would be profitable to undertake a rational analysis of the facts as they are, to help ourselves to an understanding of the present drive toward war

[We] mention,

(a) the presence of U.S. troops in Greece and China, as well as a large number of Pacific islands
(b) the present expansion of the armaments industry in the United States and Canada
(c) the predominance of countries favourable to the U.S. in the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations
(d) the refusal of the U.S. to relinquish sole control of the atom bomb before inspection of all countries is completed. . . , as a brief but suggestive introduction to our editorial contention that it is clear the fault is not on one side only. In case it occurs to anyone as significant that we have omitted an (a), (b), (c), (d) for the other side, we hasten to suggest that the nearest city newspaper's headlines will supply all that is needed.

. . . To attach the word "appeasement" to the efforts of those who now strive for understanding between East and West . . . is an indiscriminate misuse of a term taken out of its historical context. . . .

Further than this, we would like to suggest that there is a Christian attitude, far removed from appeasement to which we are called urgently at this time. More than all others the Christian is able to detach himself from the more irrational aspects of nationalism. In fact, the Christian should be able to detach himself emotionally even from the civilization within which his country has a place, and to look sympathetically at an alien and unfamiliar culture. This is why the Christian can be more effective than anyone at this time, in working for peace.

¹Paris, "Study Life of the Movement," p. 50.

For the Canadian Christian student this aptitude has been presented with very concrete opportunities just lately. In November the Beaver Brigade returned from its four-month tour in eastern Europe, having made a positive contribution to peace, we would say. Yet, in one university six student-members of the brigade were immediately denied re-admission, and at another it was for a long time impossible to obtain a room in the campus in which the story of the Brigade's tour might be told to students. And everyone knows by now the sort of reception given to the Dean of Canterbury, who came to this country to speak for peace and was treated as an enemy agent, one to be feared and hated. Some members of the SCM learned for the first time in their lives the pain and the dagrin and also the joy and exhilaration of hard fighting on their campus, to gain a hearing for the Dean.

It is on issues of this kind that we can work. In some cities, peace councils are being set up and are being labelled "communist." But if we shirk attachment to these projects what will be our answer when the war comes upon us and we are asked, "What did you do to prevent it?"

Peace is to be fought for.¹

At issue with the Beaver Brigade and other groups in which SCM'ers individually or the SCM as a movement participated was the potential of peace through keeping open dialogue with groups and countries whose ideology might sharply conflict with the Christian's. For elaboration, see Chapter V, below.

The Commission on Politics of National Council 1949 spoke on the "specific issue" of "the question of peace":

The perfect Christian community, because of its nature, will be peaceful; therefore we as Christians striving for the perfect community are also striving for peace. Because peace is our aim, we must consider current issues which have a bearing on this question.

¹Editorial, "The Christian Student and the Problem of Peace," Canadian Student, December, 1948, pp. 22, 39.

(a) United Nations We believe that we as Christians should support the United Nations as an instrument of world peace for the basic reason that it was founded on the belief that nations would get together to solve their social, political and economic problems without resorting to war. Even though the United Nations is not perfectly fulfilling this ideal, Christians must continue to take part in the organization.

The idea is being thwarted because of the attitude of each nation to gain its own nationalistic desires rather than co-operate for the benefit of the whole world. We as Christians must realize the situation in its true light, and work so that these limitations within each nation are overcome.

(b) World Federation of Democratic Youth. . .

[See below, Chapter V]¹

The National Council 1949 also referred to the SCM and the peace issue in its "Report of Committee on Relationships":

Peace Movement

Resolved that we recognize the tremendous urge for peace in the world today, and that the Peace Councils and the National Peace Congress are an expression of this urge. While we do not believe the National SCM can affiliate with the National Peace Movement, we recognize that SCM members will be participating, and we ask them to effect a Christian witness and to observe for the local SCM units and the National SCM and keep them informed. While we are sympathetic with the desire of people for peace, and recognize that the Peace Movement is one expression of this widespread desire, we feel that organizational participation in the Peace Movement is not the most effective way open to the SCM to work for peace. We should work with young people's organizations and the churches in investigating and attempting to solve the problems of international disorder and of peace and war.²

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-24, 1949, "Report of the Commission on Politics," p. 67.

²National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-24, 1949, "Report of Committee on Relationships," p. 55.

At the May 1950 National Council, following full discussion of the report of the Political Commission on the floor of Council, it became apparent that no agreement could be reached and that, therefore, the report could not be accepted by the Council. Some specific recommendations were agreed upon:

METHODS OF WORKING FOR PEACE

1. We recommend that this Council endorse the statement of the World Council of Churches on the Hydrogen Bomb and the problem of peace, and that we ask the Canadian Council of Churches to endorse this statement and to appoint a National Day of Prayer for Peace.

2. We recommend that local units of the SCM undertake some or all of the following activities:

(a) Call together local church and other religious groups to discuss ways and means of promoting peace, including the organization of a united Christian demand for a Big Power conference to end the cold war.

(b) Hold firesides, worship services, social events and discussion groups on the theme of Peace, wherever possible in conjunction with Church Young People's Groups.

(c) Promote careful study of the various control plans which have been placed before the Atomic Energy Commission of United Nations.

(d) Make a critical study of the statement regarding the Hydrogen Bomb made by the World Council of Churches and the statement issued by the Stockholm Conference of the World Peace Congress.

(e) Encourage members of the SCM and others to pray constantly that war may be averted, and to do everything in their power to counteract the attitude of fatalism and cynicism with regard to the danger of war. Cards with an SCM prayer for peace might be printed and distributed and Christmas cards emphasizing the theme prepared early in the fall.

(f) Carry out this campaign for peace in a manner distinguished by an avoidance of expressions of hatred for either side in the cold war.

(g) Encourage members of the SCM to take an interest and, as far as their Christian faith permits, an active part in the work of other groups which have international understanding and peace as an aim.

3. We recommend that the following books and materials be studied. "Philosophy of Peace" - J.B. Somerville; "Fear,

War and the Bomb" - P.M.S. Blackett; "Era of Atomic Power" - British Council of Churches; Society of Friends' reports: material issued by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs; and by the United Nations' Association. This list is by no means complete, nor does it include material with which we should necessarily agree but it is, in any case, worth studying.

4. We recommend that the SCM participate, if possible, in the Mid-Century Conference for Peace to which we have been invited to send representatives.

5. We recommend that, in considering how we may work for peace, we keep in mind the fact that a contribution to peace can be made through a continuous effort to make Canada as good a country as possible. More specifically, we recommend:

(a) that we work to preserve and bring to fuller realization those principles of our system, such as equal rights before the law, freedom of speech and assembly, and freedom from discrimination because of race or religion, which we consider indispensable elements of democracy. Our co-operation will be welcomed in the ever-growing movement for civil liberties which exists in Canada.

(b) that we strive to correct the weaknesses in our economic system, so that we remove the ground for those valid criticisms of it which are made in particular by the communists; thereby we may hope to attain eventually both those economic advantages promised by communism, and the advantages of our own democratic system.¹

Communism and the foreign policies of Russia and the United States were relevant to the question of how to preserve peace. There were sharp differences of opinion expressed on this point, which were also reflected in two sub-committees delegated to draw up statements of contrasting attitudes regarding the Soviet Union.²

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May 15-25, 1950, "Report of the Political Commission," pp. 46-47.

²SCM National Archives, "For Further Study in Local Units," (Political Commission Report and subcommittee report, National Council, May 1950), p.4.

The 1951 National Council dealt with "peace" in a seminar session. It reported:

If Christians are to think and act with responsibility today, they must not be satisfied with an uncritical acceptance of their own institutions and social customs. Through prayer and inquiry, the Christian must make a deliberate effort not to be swayed by the worldly attitudes around him, but should humbly place his faith in God and try to carry out His will. We must strive to find the true source of our strength that we might not blindly accept the prejudice and hatred that exists without us and within us so that we may recognize those forces in the world to which we are opposed and why we oppose them.

But we are caught up either consciously or unconsciously in the particular situation in which we find ourselves. Therefore we must repent. We use the word "repent" after this fashion. Repentance means a preparedness to change our minds after a self-analysis before God. We must thus find a new personal orientation.

1. This change of mind involves a willingness to listen to what the churches in all countries have to say to us. We should place our trust in the Chinese Christians and have confidence in them to solve the difficult problems facing them. We must respect their solution. The following is an excerpt from a report by the SCM in Peking to the Student World: "Under the guidance of our faith, we have adopted a clear political line . . . that we oppose imperialism, feudalism and capitalism, and love democracy, freedom and peace."

To increase our understanding of these churches we feel that our church should make every endeavour to publish communications from them. Recognizing the problems involved in judging the exact significance of such communications, we believe nevertheless that such steps are necessary to restore a sense of community and trust among Christians throughout the world.

2. A Christian should examine whether or not war is or can every be a solution for political problems and similarly the Christian should consider the pacifist's point of view. Pacifism is not a negative but a positive attempt to promote peace by striking at the direct causes of war.

This change of mind also involves a realization that a Christian cannot completely ally himself with any human doctrine but he must recognize both its good and evil aspects. But we ought not to forget that however much we may oppose

doctrines, we cannot lose our sympathy for individuals who support such doctrines. We make particular reference to our resolution regarding communists on the campus.

Christians must demand that our nation should not simply rely upon armed force in combating communism, but should rather support a more constructive programme to relieve international conflicts, e.g. Colombo Plan, Civil Liberties, etc.

There are three points of view concerning the motives for supporting the Colombo Plan:

- (1) Christian love
- (2) an expression of concern for the needs of other people
- (3) a means of combatting communism.¹

The Social Action Report in National Council Minutes and Reports of 1952 included a statement of policy on how SCM could work in the promotion of peace as Christians understand it:

Be it resolved:

That individual interested SCM'ers can take action in these ways:

- (i) work for a realistic, humble examination of conscience by fellow members in the situations which confront us and the possibility of work here, and
- (ii) endeavour to combat the association of the concepts "peace" and "action for peace" with "communism" and "Red!" which is helping to create the extreme tension which makes it difficult for any non-communist but interested people to work for peace, and
- (iii) attend meetings of local Peace Councils, U.N. Associations etc. in an effort to introduce an objective criticism of the motives for peace work, to stem the increase of hysteria, and to show that the Christian can act for peace sincerely and knowingly.²

¹ National Council Minutes and Reports, May 14-24, 1951, "Report of the Seminar on Peace," p. 45.

² National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-25, 1952, "Social Action Report," p. 39.

See Chapter V, below, for further statements on the SCM's position on the peace issue in the 1950's, reflected in their discussions of participation in other groups.

A National Council statement in 1959 reflected the changing nature of the peace issue over the years. The Current Issues Commission reported:

Sane Nuclear Policy

Whereas many of us are painfully aware of the problem of nuclear warfare and radioactive fallout, this commission, in seeing a definite need for Christian action, endorses and recommends for Council's consideration the conclusions of the Lambeth Council for Social Services to be found in The Bulletin, No. 175 that

"(a) . . . Christian people should subject their attitudes to intense prayer and study, recognizing that God is calling us to a costly choice and that, as individuals, we share responsibility for the public decisions which our countries make.

(b) . . . Christians should press through their governments for international control of the production and testing of nuclear weapons as a matter of the utmost urgency, recognizing that the nations concerned are morally bound to make unceasing effort to secure this, and to accept such limitations of their own freedom as effective control will demand.

(c) The Church should seek means whereby it can consult with scientists and political leaders about the many problems of ethics and conscience which may arise from the discovery and development of nuclear fission and fusion."

Note: In many Canadian centres committees are being established to promote the publication of reliable scientific information re the hazards of nuclear weapons testing. The Commission urges local units to give support to their efforts.¹

The report of the Current Issues Commission approved by

¹ National Council Minutes and Reports, Sept. 7-13, 1959, "Report of the Current Issues Commission," p. 21.

1960 National Council recommended:

WHEREAS the issue of PEACE is a most vital one in the world today and,
WHEREAS much interest has been shown as regards our Christian responsibility in creating an intelligent attitude towards such problems as Nuclear testing, Nuclear warfare, and radio active fallout, and,
WHEREAS Canada is in a position to take a responsible role in influencing world powers, in these matters,
THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

1. That this council commit itself to doing everything in its power to further the cause of peace;

(a) Realize the importance of intercessory prayer for the establishment of world peace.

(b) Participate in the National political processes of election, policy formation and public education that further peace.

(c) That resolution to National Council 1960 be referred to National Executive for revision and despatch.

2. That all local units commit themselves to carry out the above recommendation at the local level;

(a) Become involved in prayer, study, and action with local groups in church and university who work for the establishment of peace.

(b) Urge the university community to seek for new methods and policies which may improve international relations.

(c) Undertake concrete action in the cause of peace on November 11, 1960, and where possible on August 6, 1961 (Hiroshima Day).¹

There was also a special resolution passed:

WHEREAS the government of the Soviet Union believes that it is to the mutual advantage of the peoples of of both the Communist and Capitalist worlds to live in peaceful coexistence, and that it is possible; and,
WHEREAS the government of China, under the present leadership, due to the isolation in the community of nations into which it has been placed by the unwillingness of most western governments to recognize it or to permit its membership in the United Nations, seems seriously to question the possibility of peaceful coexistence; and,

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 5-15, 1960, "Current Issues Report," p. 28.

WHEREAS the recent U-2 affair gravely compromised the position of Mr. Krushchev in the eyes of the Government of China; and,
WHEREAS the hardening of attitudes resulting from recent events has put the policy of peaceful coexistence under extreme pressure in both east and west
THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED
that the National Council send a letter to Mr. Krushchev stating that:

"The National Council of the Student-Christian Movement of Canada meeting in September, 1960, believing it to be the will of Christ that men should live without war, is deeply concerned for the cause of peace and has a sincere desire for disarmament and coexistence of the great powers."

"We believe that you have a continuing contribution to make in this field as the leader of the people of the U.S.S.R."

and a second letter to Mr. Eisenhower stating that:

"The National Council of the Student Christian Movement of Canada, meeting in September, 1960, believing it to be the will of Christ that men should live without war, is deeply concerned for the cause of peace and has a sincere desire for disarmament and coexistence of the great powers."

"We believe that you have a continuing contribution to make in this field as the leader of the people of the United States of America."¹

It was also agreed to send a copy to the Department of External Affairs.

Another resolution was received and referred to the Executive Committee for revision and dispatch:

The National Council of the Student Christian Movement of Canada, 1960, declares its great appreciation of and solidarity with the work which responsible Christians in East and West have done in trying to bring about Peace on Earth, especially through the channels of the World Council of Churches, the Canadian Council of Churches,

¹ National Council Minutes and Reports, 1960, p. 15.

the equivalent national and international student bodies, the World Peace Council, and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. We are deeply concerned about how few of the outstanding statements on the problems of World Peace by the above movements have been forwarded to and complied with in their local units. In the face of increasing world tensions, such as violent uprisings, starvation, unemployment, oppressions, increased armaments, war and racial discrimination, we, as the Student Christian Movement of Canada, ask Christians in East and West and their leaders to do away with their acts and conditions which are sins and are directly opposed to the Life and Teachings and Death of Jesus Christ.¹

Six members of National Council presented the resolution and asked that it be sent to: the Canadian Government, World's Student Christian Federation, the World Council of Churches, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. national and international headquarters, Professor Hromadka of the Ecumenical Council of Protestant Churches of the Czechoslovak Soviet Republic; Professor Alexander Karew--General Secretary of the Baptist Church in the U.S.S.R., Metropolitan Nicolai of the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow, Bishop Iaan Kivitt of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the U.S.S.R. in Talinin, and Bishop Ting of the Christian Church in China, Peking.

A resolution from the SCM delegates to the Strasbourg Conference of the World's Student Christian Federation in July 1960, was accepted by the September 1960 National Council. It read:

¹Ibid., p. 12.

WHEREAS Professor Hromadka and other Christians from eastern Europe impressed us with the necessity for a United Christian witness for peace and invited the SCM of Canada to participate in the Peace Conference sponsored by the eastern churches, and
WHEREAS there is a deep gulf of misunderstanding, mistrust and fear separating Christians in the so-called free and Communist worlds

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT

1. The SCM of Canada seek to identify itself as fully as possible with all Christians of like concern by
 - (a) studying in the sense of real repentance the nature of the tensions in the world today and the Christian's responsibility for them,
 - (b) indicate our concern in concrete terms by supporting officially the Peace Conference, to be held in Prague next summer, by our prayers, our active concern and if possible by active representation.¹

The SCM sent six delegates to the All-Christian Peace Assembly in Prague, June 13-17, 1961. They were given complete freedom of speech by the SCM but asked not to speak for or undertake commitments on behalf of the Student Christian Movement of Canada. ²

1961 National Council approved the following statement:

Peace and Nuclear War

(a) Preamble

The establishment of peace and the prospect of nuclear war are the two most critical issues in the affairs of the world community today, and for Christians there is a tremendous challenge to be informed, to speak, and to witness in the face of much confusion. The duty to speak about the Christian basis for peace (not in any pietistic platitudes, but in the Biblical light of God's wrath, judgment, and love, through which righteousness works for peace), impinges upon Christian consciences both individually and corporately. In Canada the need to assert first principles is especially acute, since Canada does

¹Ibid., p. 16.

²National Council Minutes and Reports, "Report of Board of Directors," p. 13.

not yet possess nuclear arms. On the world scene, the dangers of nuclear war remain and become increasingly grave as more nations develop and test atomic war-heads. The current Berlin crisis has been the focus for much of the anxieties and tensions, and the situation desperately needs new insight.

Study and action are necessary on all levels of national and international life in the light of the danger of the theological implications of nuclear warfare, and of our basic principles.

Realizing that letters and telegrams to Governments, Ministries and individuals are of little use without personal involvement by the senders and those whom they represent:

WE RECOMMEND:

(i) That SCM'ers speak frequently to Church, youth, university and any other groups about the various Peace Conferences and Organizations (e.g., Prague, CUCND, FOR¹), and about how these activities apply locally.

(ii) That SCM'ers communicate information and concern about peace, nuclear war, and international social justice among the local campus political parties, and beyond them into the established political parties on both the provincial and federal levels by communication with Members.

WE RESOLVE

(1) That the following message be forwarded to the Prime Minister and the Minister of External Affairs, and that it also be issued as a press release:

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT OF CANADA IS MEETING AT THIS TIME OF GRAVE INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCY CREATED THROUGH THE BERLIN CRISIS. WE HAVE NOTED WITH ALARM THE INCREASE IN THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF SEVERAL NATIONS, THE DANGEROUS RESUMPTION BY THE USA, AND THE PROPOSED ACQUISITION BY THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT OF NUCLEAR ARMS.

WE ARE EXTREMELY GRATIFIED TO READ YOUR PROPOSAL THAT "...CONSIDERATION MIGHT BE GIVEN TO THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CITY OF BERLIN UNDER UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE." WE BELIEVE THAT THIS PROPOSAL IS A MOST CONSTRUCTIVE STEP TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF WORLD PEACE. TO FURTHER A SETTLEMENT OF THE WHOLE GERMAN PROBLEM, WE URGE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW CONSULTATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR ALL NATIONS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN A GERMAN PEACE SETTLEMENT, KEEPING IN MIND THE POSSIBLE NEED FOR A RECOGNITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC BY OUR GOVERNMENT.

¹Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

ABOVE ALL, WE STRONGLY OPPOSE THE CONTEMPLATED PURCHASE AND STORAGE OF ANY NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY OUR GOVERNMENT. ALREADY THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR BY ACCIDENT IS GREAT: CANADA DARE NOT MAKE IT GREATER.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE DOUBTFUL BENEFIT OF POSSESSING NUCLEAR ARMS IS FAR OUTWEIGHED BY THE ROLE THAT CANADA CAN PLAY IN BRINGING ABOUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL JUSTICE AND PEACE.

(2) That the following message be forwarded to the Premier of the USSR and to the President of the USA through their embassies:

WE DEEPLY REGRET THE RESUMPTION OF NUCLEAR TESTING BY THE USSR AND THE PLANNED RESUMPTION OF TESTING BY THE USA; WE URGE THAT YOU DO ALL IN YOUR POWER TO STOP ATOMIC TESTS AND TO FURTHER WORLD PEACE.

(3) That the following message be forwarded to Lord Bertrand Russell and the Reverend Michael Scott; and be issued as a press release:

OUR NATIONAL COUNCIL EXPRESSES DEEP SYMPATHY ON YOUR IMPRISONMENT AND CONGRATULATES YOU AND YOUR MOVEMENT FOR YOUR COURAGEOUS SUPPORT OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT.

(b) WHEREAS

a major objective of the CUCND, the prevention of the extension of nuclear weapons to countries not now possessing them, is an objective deserving the widest possible consideration by all Canadians,

BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

The National Council of the SCM of Canada support the movement for the restriction of nuclear arms to the nations now possessing them as a first step toward nuclear disarmament.

FURTHER, WE RECOMMEND THAT:

- (1) The local units, through individual participation, actively support the CUCND organization on their campuses.
- (2) Individual SCM'ers assume responsible roles in directing the movement for preventing the extension of nuclear arms.¹

National Council of 1962 noted the section on peace

quoted above from the 1961 Council and resolved:

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 4-14, 1961, "Report of the Current Issues Commission," pp. 29-31.

WHEREAS there is a great need for a definitive study on international tensions and peace and

WHEREAS the Canadian Peace Research Institute is set up to carry out research on this topic,

1. We recommend that the SCM at all levels support the work of the Canadian Peace Research Institute.

2. We recommend that Local units study this topic using materials published by the Peace Research Institute.¹

The study conference connected with the 1962 National Council took "He is our Peace" as the theme of the Bible study and "Christian Responsibility in a Divided World" as its general theme (with theme addresses under this title, as well, as an address on "The Roots of the Cold War," and "The Rich and the Poor Nations.")²

1963 National Council limited its "peace" statements to the CUCND (Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament):

WHEREAS the National Council of the SCM strongly supports the movement for the restriction of nuclear arms to the nations now possessing them as a first step towards nuclear disarmament,

BE IT RESOLVED

(1) that the SCM accept the invitation to send two observers to the Federal Conference of the CUCND early in November 1963, and

(2) that the SCM invite two observers from CUCND to the National Council next fall.³

National Council of 1964 approved a private resolution

¹ National Council Minutes and Reports, September 3-13, 1962, "Commission on Current Issues," p. 39.

² National Council Minutes and Reports, September 4-14, 1961, "Study, Conferences, and Publications," pp. 50-51.

³ National Council Minutes and Reports, September 2-12, 1963, "Commission on Current Issues Report," p. G-9.

which was submitted by unanimous approval of members of the
1964 Peace Project (summer work camp):

By unanimous approval of members of the 1964 Peace Project, the following recommendations are submitted to the National Council:

A. WHEREAS the lack of academic interest in the problem of world peace is prevalent in Canadian universities, especially on the undergraduate level, and WHEREAS we recognize the need for peace-efforts to gain "respectability" in, and hence moral and financial supports from the government and the academic and business worlds, and

WHEREAS no other organizations have taken enough interest and initiative to rectify this situation, WE RECOMMEND that Toronto and McGill SCM's establish a joint committee to investigate what has been and can be done in the field of regular under-graduate courses and research into the problems of war and peace (e.g. "The Peace Research and Education Project" at University of Michigan) and report to National Council 1965 on possible action in this area.

B. WE RECOMMEND that the University of Toronto SCM be invited to explore the possibilities of a student-exchange with the USSR with the basic aim of setting up study-projects on peace in both countries, keeping in mind the many areas in which we can co-operate with other organizations such as WUS, UNESCO, the Christian Peace Conference of Prague (which George Hopton and Margaret Nash from our staff attended this summer) etc., and their financial and technical assistance that we can tap for such a project, as a contribution to the International Co-operation Year, 1965.¹

National Council of 1964 also recommended that the SCM turn increasingly towards handling current issues and social concerns by means of projects, including peace, political and labour demonstrations.

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 7-17, 1964, p. 23.

The 1964 Peace Study Summer Project, as well as having its study program centred around peace, took "direct action." On Hiroshima Day (August 6) they conducted a noon-hour service in the Holy Trinity Chapel in Toronto (having distributed leaflets the two days before the service), and they presented the film "Hiroshima Mon Amour" in a university theatre (with 450 attending). When Governor Wallace came to speak at Maple Leaf Gardens, a major part of the camp picketed. Some of the campers took part in collecting signatures for a petition supporting the admission of mainland China to the United Nations, circulated in Eglinton riding, the federal seat of Mitchell Sharp. Some of the campers went to La Macaza, the Quebec Bomarc Base, to participate in the demonstration the weekend of September 6th. Some of the campers also participated in the Harbour East Project sponsored by CUCND and the Humanist Club to help the children of a downtown slum. (There was another similar Summer Peace Project in 1965.)¹

By 1966 the concern for peace was expressed through the Vietnam issue. An open letter "On the Canadian Involvement in the Vietnam War" to the twenty-seventh Parliament and the Government of Canada was endorsed (by a vote of eighteen to thirteen) by the Special National Council (1965) held February 18-20, 1966. The conclusion of its analysis was:

¹SCM National Archives, Log of 1964 Peace Study Summer Project.

In the record, then, Canada's complicity in the cruel tragedy of Vietnam is clear. The very character of the war makes the present escalation a threat to world peace. Yet each time a military action fails, this is taken as proof that increased military commitments are required. What was unthinkable yesterday seems necessary today. And today's escalation becomes tomorrow's moderation. We have become accomplices in genocide.

THEREFORE WE CALL FOR AN IMMEDIATE AND FULL DEBATE ON THESE MATTERS OF URGENT NATIONAL IMPORTANCE IN PARLIAMENT, IN ORDER THAT CANADA MAY MOVE BEYOND THE LIMITATIONS OF OUR CURRENT ACTIONS AND CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE IN VIETNAM.

We believe that the following steps by Canada would contribute to peace in Vietnam:

1. Publicly call for an immediate end to the US Bombing of North Vietnam.
2. Publicly call on the US Government to end its scorched earth policy in South Vietnam, its poisoning of crops, and its saturation napalm bombing of civilian targets.
3. Withdraw permission for Canadian firms to export any arms or material such as Caribou aircraft, helicopter parts and electronic equipment, to the United States or other countries to be used in the war in Vietnam.
4. Publicly support Secretary General Thant's call for recognition of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam as a full participant in any negotiations to settle the war.
5. Report to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference that the ICC, of which Canada is a member, can no longer control or supervise the Agreement, and that only the reconvening of the Conference can lead to the resolution of the current grave situation.
6. Publicly declare support for the principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreement as providing the basis for a true peace in Vietnam: these include the withdrawal of all foreign troops and bases, and supervised free elections to lead to the reunification of Vietnam.¹

It was also decided by this National Council to send
a telegram to the Canada-Vietnam Week Committee informing them

¹SCM National Archives, "On the Canadian Involvement in the Vietnam War: An Open Letter to the 27th Parliament and the Government of Canada," February 15, 1966.

of this decision.

At the 1967 National Council a motion was passed, wholeheartedly welcoming the proposed visits of the Vietnamese Delegation sponsored by CUS (Canadian Union of Students) and UGEQ (Union Général des Etudiants de Québec), and a second motion was passed that the following message be presented to the delegations upon their arrival in Canada: "The Student Christian Movement of Canada wholeheartedly supports the visit of the visiting Vietnamese delegations, and encourages students from coast to coast to give them their supports [sic] and encourage them in their struggle to gain social and political justice in their homeland."¹

National Council of 1967 passed a resolution which, like the 1966 one, was sent to all members of Parliament.

We, the Student Christian [Movement] of Canada acknowledge our own complicity in the war in Vietnam and recognize that we as a movement stand under judgement.

We therefore feel compelled to speak and act in accord with our human consciences:

1. The systematic destruction of the Vietnamese people and their country is the chief deterrent to their struggle for national self-determination.
2. The American involvement in Vietnam is an aggression against the people of all Vietnam which the Student Christian Movement must oppose.
3. The widespread destruction of civilian population which results from the war techniques used by the occupying American forces is in violation of the United Nations Convention on genocide which serves as international law

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, August 30-September 3, 1967, pp. 3-4.

and therefore constitutes a crime against humanity.

4. Our government has misrepresented the American conduct in Vietnam as a defense of democracy, whereas it is in fact a vicious attack upon people struggling for their right of self-determination.

5. In addition, our government, through subsidies and through the facilities of crown corporations, has encouraged the supply of war materiel [sic] by Canadian industry to the American war machine.

6. The Canadian Parliament, through ever increasing implications of our joint defense agreement with the United States, has permitted this policy of condonement to be expressed through legislation as if it were the acknowledged will of the Canadian people.

7. In doing so, the Canadian Parliament has failed to provide a position from which our government and ourselves can work for the liberation of all peoples and the peace of the world which are being threatened by the War in Vietnam.

8. The policy of quiet diplomacy practised by the Canadian government is an attempt to take the Vietnam War out of the area of democratic decision making. We reject the implicit assumption that Canadian complicity in this war is a matter of diplomacy and not a moral and political issue which must be decided by the Canadian people.¹

By the end of September, 1967, there were twenty-three replies from members of Parliament of which eleven were from Cabinet Ministers. Many were personal letters offering encouragement and support, though some were simply formal acknowledgment.²

Despite the renewed interest in political issues which appeared in 1968 there have been no statements on peace questions in National Council documents since then.

On the whole, "peace" has been a continuing concern for

¹Ibid., Section 4.

²This information is based on a count and analysis of the letters in the SCM National Archives. (These archives are not in any organized state to which specific reference can be made.)

the SCM, reflected in the statements of official bodies of the Movement as well as in actions of individual SCM'ers (through participation in other groups, as conscientious objectors, and as protestors, for example). These views expressed on the peace issue were stimulated by external events--the aftermath of World War I, the arms race, the development of Naziism, the Spanish Civil War, tensions in the Far East, World War II, the Cold War, and the Vietnam War--but were also determined by the theology and world view of staff and student leaders.

Although varying in its intensity, a concern for international affairs has always been a characteristic of the SCM, in addition to the interest in the various aspects of the "peace" issue just discussed. This concern has been expressed over China, Japan, the USSR, Latina America and the Caribbean, Vietnam (see section on peace, above), and the US, as well as in more general terms. The concern has taken the form of expressions of solidarity, resolutions, study groups, and picketing. The international link has always been maintained through the World's Student Christian Federation, as well as, at times, through other world organizations--World Federation of Democratic Youth, World Assembly of Youth, International

Student Relief, and International Student Service. (See below, Chapter V.)

"Some Canadian Questions: Studies in Preparation for the First Canadian National Student Conference" included a section on "Internationalism and War" and on "Internationalism and Co-operation." The document expressed the sentiments:

It is often said that Canada can serve a useful function in explaining Great Britain to the United States and the United States to Great Britain, but if Canadians refuse to understand either people this is impossible. It is important that Canada should grow in understanding of India, China and Japan that some satisfactory settlement may be reached on immigration questions; while to know and understand European immigrants is both a national and an international responsibility. . . .

An examination of the possibilities of international co-operation involves an examination of the nature of our nationalism and an analysis of the elements which make its concrete expression. . . . We must realize such international responsibilities as are already assumed and look forward to a conscious co-operation with other nations. The average individual must make co-operation his responsibility; conscious citizenship within the state is not enough; there must be created a conscious citizenship in a community of nations.¹

There were articles on "Internationalism" in the Canadian Student in the 1920's. More specifically, an editorial in October, 1925, chastised Canadian student delegates at an Elgin House conference. After the "Shanghai Incident" a message from Chinese Christians in Peking was presented to these students asking for a common effort on the part of all

¹SCM National Archives, "Some Canadian Questions," pp. 26, 30.

Christians to remove four sources of inequality and injustice: the right to foreign concessions and settlements in China, held by outside powers; extra-territoriality and consular jurisdiction; leased territory; limitation of China's tariff autonomy. The Canadian Student editorial commented on the students refusing to do anything that might be called "action" apart from resolving to study and promote study of the problem:

Canadian students cannot be expected to emulate their Chinese friends and become a political force, but one might expect them, living as they do in an atmosphere of the highest possible ideals, to have the courage of their convictions and take an open stand against a situation that is so unquestionably unjust?¹

Because of this issue study groups were focused on China and the Orient, and further articles appeared in the Canadian Student, troubled particularly with the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and China.

With the depression came a renewed interest in Russia and its solution to economic problems.

The late thirties brought a search within the SCM for its responsibility in the European crisis. The Central Area (Ontario) Conference in September, 1938, issued a statement:

We have come to see this week that the present world crisis is a religious crisis. German Fascism denies about human nature that which is true of men as brothers in the fatherhood of God. The very resistance to Fascism to-day, the cry of the oppressed peoples for freedom

¹Editorial, Canadian Student, October, 1925, p. 2.

and world community, the sincere search on the part of this conference and other youth to-day, to open ourselves to the nature of the present crisis, are witnesses to the fact that God is acting. During the last week Hitler has again threatened to extend the violation of human freedom by the invasion of Czechoslovakia. This threat to the freedom of the Czechoslovakian people is a threat to the freedom of all peoples, including the people of Canada.

We, as Christian students, affirm our interdependence with all people, our share of the responsibility for the present crisis, and we accept the challenge of God presented to us to act in this situation. We desire to discover God's will in this situation. We affirm: that the nature of our personality is constituted in our struggle for freedom; that the threat to freedom is the real nature of this crisis; that Fascism represents a combination of forces which for self-preservation inculcate a loyalty to themselves which would restrict the development of personality and would deny the extension of freedom.

We intend to act in each and every situation, in the knowledge that we cannot deny freedom to others if we would maintain our own. We are fully conscious of the horror and destruction of war, yet we cannot do less than support those forces which are making for resistance to Fascism and for the preservation of Democracy. This does not mean that we regard forceful resistance as the only expression of God's will in this instance. We seek to understand the development of events so that we may resist our own prejudice and the pressure of prevailing propaganda.¹

In similar tones the Commission on Study at National Council of September, 1938, had affirmed

that Christian life cannot come to its fullest development other than in a world community [and that] the world missionary enterprise is an essential part of the international task to which the SCM is committed; failure to recognize this implies that Christianity is a national religion. . . . The essential emphasis in this study is that the Christian student should see the effect of

¹Canadian Student, New Sheet, October, 1938, p. 4.

international issues in the life which he lives with his fellows and realize the necessity for his acting in the light of that knowledge.¹

SCM'ers took action through various relief agencies, including in the late 1930's International Student Service, to which the Chinese Student Relief Committee and the Far Eastern Student Relief Committee of the SCM sent money.²

In the late 1940's SCM'ers became exercised over the "arms to China" (Nationalist Chinese) issue. Several "old SCM'ers" had become missionaries in China, and spoke to SCM'ers about their experiences when they were home on furlough.³

National Council of May, 1948, passed the following resolution which was sent to the Honourable L. S. St. Laurent of the Department of External Affairs, with a copy to the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King:

WHEREAS the present armed conflict in China has already attained the proportions of a major civil war, although as yet only a state of armed rebellion is recognized, and WHEREAS the aforesaid armed conflict is inviting intervention by other sovereign powers, and WHEREAS this intervention might lead to war between these intervening powers,

The National Council of the Student Christian Movement of Canada urges that the Canadian Government sponsor action in the United Nations Assembly to set up a Commission at the earliest possible moment to investigate the armed conflict in China for the purpose of discovering whether there exists in the situation a threat to world peace.⁴

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 8-12, 1938, "Report of Commission on Study."

²Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

³Earl Wilmott, conversation, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

⁴National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-23, 1948, p. 6.



The 1948 National Council also accepted recommendations by the Commission on Politics, on "Arms to China":

(a) This commission recommends that we endorse the action of the National Executive Committee in urging the Dominion Government to place an embargo on the sending of arms to the Central Government of China. Our primary basis for taking this stand is our contention, based on Christian principles, that one nation ought not to interfere with the internal affairs of another nation in any way which will promote civil war. To those who are not prepared to accept this position, we would further point out:

i) That, since information concerning the situation within China is indefinite, the Canadian Government is not justified in taking such positive action as shipping arms which foments war.

ii) That because of our contact with student groups in China and because of growing agreement about the existence of corruption within the Central Government of China we feel that the present policy of the Central Government is destructive and will, in the long run, hinder the development of an adequate settlement within the country.

(b) We further recommend that:

i) Local units continue to study and act on this question.

ii) National office send out periodical releases giving the latest news available from what it considers reliable sources on this question.¹

Not only were resolutions passed on this issue, but also picketing was done. Fifty McGill students, led by Vincent Goring, a prominent SCM'er (and in 1971-72 General Secretary of the national SCM) and other members of the SCM and Federation of Labour Youth, in November, 1947, protested against the alleged loading of arms upon the freighter Cliffside, destined for China. One claimed that the Cliffside cargo included two

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-23, 1948, "Report of the Commission on Politics," pp. 54-55.

and a half thousand tons of small arms and ammunition plus a complete arms factory dismantled for shipment, and that the munitions were being sent by the Canadian government. Goring is reported to have stated that he believed action to support a war should be made through the UN only, and that the Chinese government was a dictatorship. The students paraded past a pier of Montreal harbour bearing placards labelled "Remember Hong Kong" and "No arms for dictators." They were subsequently ordered away by harbour police for illegal entry.¹

In November, 1948, the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix carried an item reporting the declaration of the University of Saskatchewan SCM that it was in complete agreement with the recent picketing demonstration in Vancouver by the SCM of the University of British Columbia against the shipping of arms to China. The U. of S. students based their statement on that from the previous National Council, quoted above. The seventy UBC students were demonstrating against the shipment from Vancouver of thirty Mosquito bombers and airplane parts, bound for Nationalist forces in China. Forty of the students picketed the post office, which they selected as the most important federal building. They were reported as being members of the university CCP, LPP, and SCM clubs.²

¹Varsity, November 7, 1947.

²Clipping from the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix of November, 1948, found in the SCM National Archives.

National Council of September, 1958, resolved:

WHEREAS: the present Formosan situation seriously threatens the peace of the world and is therefore the concern of all men;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That this Council strongly supports any move the Canadian Government may make, possibly by bringing the issue into the UN, to moderate the situation.
2. [A motion asking the Canadian Government to consider whether diplomatic recognition of Communist China would not provide a pattern for remedying a basic cause of danger to world peace was passed and sent to the General Committee for re-wording.]
3. That the General Committee send out to the local units information on the Formosan situation for further study.¹

Apparently stemming from a resolution at 1959 National Council, efforts began towards a conference of Communist Chinese, Canadian and American students. Statements explaining the plan, from 1960 to 1964, included the expression of concern for the unhealthy lack of contact between North America and the Chinese People's Republic, and of the belief that by introducing some Chinese students to Canada we could acquaint them with our democratic forms and individual freedoms, and give them a better appreciation of our Western way of life. However, this visit never came about.²

National Council of September, 1960, passed a resolution on the recognition of the People's Republic of China:

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 7-12, 1958, p. 32.

²SCM National Archives, working papers on Chinese student visit, variously dated from 1960 to 1964.

WHEREAS the Government of Canada has not yet seen fit to extend recognition to the above-mentioned de facto government, and

WHEREAS we feel that it is our Christian responsibility to protest strongly on our Government's present policy in this matter.

BE IT RESOLVED that the following request be forwarded immediately to the Minister of External Affairs:
BELIEVING IN THE NEED FOR THE CREATIVE RECONCILIATION OF NATIONS, WE, THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT OF CANADA AT OUR NATIONAL COUNCIL, STRONGLY URGE THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER AGAIN THE RECOGNITION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND URGE THAT THE VOTE OF THE CANADIAN DELEGATION AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY BE CAST IN FAVOUR OF THE ADMISSION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION.¹

The South African issue became an active one for the SCM at about this time also. SCM'ers at McGill were amongst those who took part in the student protest march in connection with the mass slayings at Sharpsville. SCM'ers at McGill asked the national General Secretary (Roy DeMarsh) in April, 1960, to write to his counterpart in the Student Christian Association in South Africa expressing:

- (a) our deep concern as Christians at the disturbing events in the Union, and our sympathy with all those who have experienced suffering as a result of the violence and disorder,
- (b) our hopes that a lasting and happy settlement may be found to the racial tensions which seem to be at the root of the trouble,
- (c) a desire for information as to how students in the various branches of the SCA regard the race question and the policy of apartheid.
- (d) a request for information as to whether there is any way in which we could assist those who are striving to bring about harmony and understanding among the different

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 5-15, 1960, "Current Issues," p. 26.

groups in the country.¹

In the mid-sixties, in recommending support of the Canadian Union of Students and World University Service campaigns against racial injustice in South Africa, a National Office memo added:

As students whose frame of reference is Jesus Christ, there is possibly an additional and distinctive dimension which CUS and WUS do not touch. No one who is concerned with the racial struggle in South Africa can avoid references to Christianity, the Church, Bible etc. Much evidence can be adduced as to the failure of the Church, and the misuse of Christianity and the Bible in South Africa. The same was true in Germany during the Nazi regime . . . and as in Germany then, so in South Africa today, some Christians are making a heroic and meaningful contribution towards the struggle for a just social order.

What disturbs many of those Christians, and some in other countries, is the naivete of western christendom concerning the role of Christians, individually and corporately, in situations of racial injustice, totalitarian government and the like. How much awareness in western christendom is of the fact that to a considerable extent South Africa demonstrates in microcosm what is to be found in the world in macrocosm--the supremacy of the affluent, white Judaeo-Christian one-third over the economically-disadvantaged, non-white, predominantly non-Christian two-thirds of the world's population? If, as we are all agreed, oppression of black by white is wrong in South Africa, what about economic exploitation of black by white in the world at large?²

National Council of 1961 expressed a new interest in Latin America, sending the following resolution to Mr. Green,

¹SCM National Archives, letter, Eric Snider, President, SCM in McGill University, to Roy DeMarsh, General Secretary, SCM of Canada, April 20, 1960.

²SCM National Archives, "SCM of Canada: Study-Involvement in S.A.," n.a., n.d.

Department of External Affairs:

WHEREAS we hope that the Organization of American States may develop into an effective organ for the strengthening of economic, social and cultural ties among all American nations, and

WHEREAS we believe that Canada could play a creative role in the OAS provided she were willing to take a stand independent of that of the USA, as occasion demands,

WHEREAS we believe it to be widely held by Latin Americans that Canada should be a member of the OAS,

BE IT RESOLVED THAT National Council urge the Government of Canada to take the necessary steps towards joining the OAS,

and the following letter to this effect be sent to Mr. Green, Department of External Affairs:

The Student Christian Movement of Canada wishes to inform you of a resolution passed by its National Council, meeting in Bala, Ontario, urging that Canada become a member of the Organization of American States. We note with approval your recent statement concerning your interest in exploring public opinion on this matter.

We deeply regret that you did not find it possible to accept our invitation to address National Council or to send another member of your department. The theme of our conference was Latin America, and the conference was attended by thirty-five chaplains and SCM staff members together with sixty students representing universities from all across Canada.

The theme speaker was a professor from Argentina, and speakers from Chile and Uruguay were also present. These three Latin Americans have helped to form the conviction of National Council that Canada should become a member of the Organization of American States, and that she should play a much-needed mediating role there. It would be especially important that Canada follow a course in the OAS independent of that of the USA as occasion demands.¹

National Council of 1961 also expressed distress over the situation in Angola, and reiterated its 1960 resolution on the People's Republic of China. Through the Ecumenical Assistance Program of the World's Student Christian Federation

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 4-14, 1961, "Current Issues," p. 32.

the SCM showed sustained interest in Chile, Nigeria, and India.

National Council of 1964 made plans, contingent on the approval of the Cuban SCM, for a two-month summer project in Canada in July and August, 1965, with Cuban, American and Canadian student participation, to study the USA-Cuban, USA-Canada, and Canada-Cuba economic and political relationships. This project was held.

National Council of 1964 also accepted recommendations of the General Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation on the South African situation--for a study program and a program of action aimed at:

- (a) Influencing government policies in relation to South Africa. Student Christian Movement should urge that the nations take unified action in invoking economic sanctions against apartheid in South Africa.
- (b) Influencing the policies of non-governmental groups whose actions affect the situation in South Africa (e.g. unions of dock workers could be encouraged to refuse to unload the cargoes of ships bearing South African exports). Because of the great interest of South African whites in sports activities, Student Christian Movement should encourage teams representing their respective nations to refuse to compete against South African segregated teams.
- (c) The support of South African refugees. (Student Christian Movement could support the programs of World University Service such as its substantive aid for the South African student in particular universities. SCM's can find fuller information in WUS publications.
- (d) Influencing the policies and programs of secular student organizations concerning apartheid in South Africa.¹

It was also decided that the SCM nationally and locally should

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 7-17, 1964, "Current Issues," pp. A-9--A-10.

promote scholarship assistance in Canada for South Africans wanting to study overseas.

National Council of 1964 also accepted a report of the WSCF Political Commission urging support of the Brazilian SCM in its willingness to take the risks involved in practical support of the movements for social justice and reform in Brazil after the coup of April 1, 1964.

1967 National Council reversed the position taken on the OAS by the 1961 Council. A 1967 resolution was passed:

that at this time the OAS is a subservient tool of American foreign policy for the control of Latin America and has been used in the past to rubber stamp aggression in that region by the USA;

-and that were Canada to join, it would be inevitably increasingly implicated in the economic exploitation and political domination of Latin America by the USA;

Be it resolved that the Student Christian Movement of Canada opposes Canada's entry into the OAS, and encourages the Canadian government to seek more positive alternatives for relating creatively with Latin American states.¹

An exchange of students with the Soviet Union was carried out in 1967, although it was not of the nature originally envisaged by the Canadian SCM.

A Japan-Canada Seminar on China was held in the summer of 1969, with a group of Canadian students meeting students in Japan for a study on China and Japan. The concern with

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, August 30-September 3, 1967, p. 5.

China was part of the emphasis of the World's Student Christian Federation Political Commission in the China project, which included consultations in Geneva, Asia, and Montreal.¹

A press release from National Office in 1971 reported on the 1971 National Council:

The SCM conscience has been uneasy over its investment portfolio left to the Movement over the years by its friends. Some of the shares e.g. ALCAN, INCO link Canadians directly with the dubious policies of these industries in Mozambique and Guatemala. SCM National Council directed that income during 1971 from SCM shares go to liberation movements. This will be designated following study of the various movements including some SCM's. SCM asks students to raise a matching amount to that of the shares income so that a total of at least \$2,000 can be given. This, it is hoped, will prove a symbolic act and tool for raising fundamental questions on justice and our relationships to the strivings of the Third World.²

The political stance of the SCM on international issues in addition to the aspects already discussed under the "peace issue" may be interpreted, like the peace issue, as the SCM "picking up the live idea of the time," under external stimulus.³ Internal factors--like accidents of leadership--were also involved; for example, interest in the China issue was heightened by informed and often radical missionaries coming home on furlough and speaking to SCM conferences and

¹Knowledge of the USSR-Canada and Japan-Canada projects is based on the writer's personal participation in the SCM of this period.

²SCM National Archives, "Press Release," June 1, 1971.

³Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

study groups. A similar effect could be seen later with the return of Canadians from service in other countries under the Ecumenical Assistance Program of the World's Student Christian Federation. Shorter term projects like exchange programs of students and interaction at international conferences also had some effect. Foreign visitors and staff members, often under the auspices of the WSCF, also had significant effect in stimulating interest in international problems.¹

Where the church was involved, for example in China and South Africa, SCM'ers could become particularly aroused; some saw a "naivete of western Christendom concerning the role of Christians, individually and corporately, in situations of racial injustice, totalitarian government and the like."²

Another issue for the SCM has been that of minority rights--most notably those of Japanese Canadians, French Canadians, and native peoples. It has also been exercised by the cause of immigrants and foreign students generally, of refugees (including "friendly aliens" during wartime), and of Jewish and Negro people in Canada.

As early as 1936 an article appeared in the Canadian Student protesting British Columbia's discrimination against Japanese Canadians.

¹Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

²SCM National Archives, "SCM of Canada: Study-Involvement in S.A.," n.a., n.d.

But the first written record of SCM action is in the Varsity of October 12, 1942. A petition of protest to be wired immediately to Ottawa was unanimously approved by the central council of the University of Toronto SCM as the first step in its campaign:

We, the members of the Central Council of the SCM in the University of Toronto, view with alarm the impending action of the Canadian Government in sending to Japan within the next few weeks 10,300 Canadian residents of Japanese origin . . . because we believe that this contradicts the principles of justice and is a denial of the democratic rights of minorities, which would be a blot upon the name of our country. Therefore we respectfully urge the Canadian Government to delay action until the facts may be more widely known and a full expression of informed public opinion can be given.¹

The issue was seen in broad terms: "It may be the Ukrainians or some other minority next" was the comment of the president of the University of Toronto SCM.² He pointed out that some of these Japanese Canadians had wanted to revoke their signatures already but questioned whether they would ever get a chance to revoke their signatures (agreeing to be "repatriated") which had been taken without their full understanding, and with the only alternative being that they must move east of the Rockies.

Throughout, SCM'ers worked through the Co-operative Committee on Japanese-Canadians, the secretary of which was

¹Varsity, Friday, October 12, 1942, p. 11.

Mrs. Hugh MacMillan, the wife of the general secretary of the national SCM from 1940-42.

National Council reports make reference to the Japanese-Canadian question, beginning in 1942 in the "Report of the Commission on the World's Student Christian Federation," which recommended special regard to French Canadian, Japanese, Jewish and other groups.¹

In 1944 it was the Missionary Committee which called attention

to the apparent tendency among Canadian students and in Canadian life as a whole to discriminate against racial minorities, especially at this time against those of Japanese origin. We believe that this attitude is contrary to the mind of Christ and is a challenge to the SCM to witness on the basis of its Christian conviction against all forms of race discrimination. We, therefore, recommend that the Missionary Committee be instructed to take this whole question into review and through the local missionary conveners to bring the facts of the situation before local units that they may influence student opinion on their own campuses, petitioning the appropriate government authorities wherever it is seen that the condition of the Japanese-Canadian minority can be improved by government action.²

The Commission Report ("The Student Christian Movement Active in the Secular World") endorsed by National Council 1945 recommended:

(a) that this National Council endorse the brief of the Cooperative Committee on Japanese-Canadians;

¹ National Council Minutes and Reports, December, 1942, "Report of the Commission on the World's Student Christian Federation."

² National Council Minutes and Reports, September, 12-18, 1944, "Report of the Missionary Committee."

- (b) Because we believe that this is an issue that should arouse the conscience of all Christian people in Canada, we urge that, through our representation on the Canadian Council of Churches, that Council endorse this brief and take action on this problem, with particular reference to the education of church people about it;
- (c) that we cooperate with the Cooperative Committee on Japanese-Canadians;
- (d) that National Council members pledge to distribute pamphlets such as "What About the Japanese Canadians?" in areas where they will be most effectively used;
- (e) that local SCM Units make a point of welcoming Japanese-Canadians to their campus. However, we would also point out that tact is required as an oversolicitous attitude is as dangerous as neglect.¹

The Canadian Student suggested in 1945:

No Time to be Lost . . . What You Can Do
IN LOCAL UNITS

1. Organize to study the situation.
2. Act as a distributing centre for information.
3. Organize a campus-wide committee representing all student organizations to mobilize campus and community opinion.
4. Promote faculty activity.

IN THE COMMUNITY

1. Write letters to campus and city papers. Get articles and editorials written.
2. Urge Churches, Service Clubs, and Trade Unions to act.

TO INFLUENCE GOVERNMENT

1. Write your own member of Parliament.
2. Wire or write your Provincial Premier urging him to co-operate with the Dominion Government to secure a just solution.
3. Wire or write the Prime Minister, urging him to use his influence to delay this action of expatriation of Canadian citizens until the facts are known, and enlightened public opinion is fully expressed.
4. Wire or write the Minister of Labour, Humphrey Mitchell, and the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Norman Robertson, to the same effect.

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, Sept. 7-12, 1945, Appendix C, "The Student Christian Movement Active in the Secular World".

YOU WILL WANT TO BE STUDYING THESE STATEMENTS:

"What about the Japanese-Canadians," by Howard Norman;
"A Challenge to Patriotism and Statemanship," by Norman
Black; "Democracy and the Japanese-Canadians, From Citizens
to Refugees, Canadians-Japanese," by the M.S.C.C. of Church
House.¹

Several local units were busy on the Japanese Canadian
question, contributing speakers to other organizations on and off
campus and drafting protests to people in government.²

National Council of 1946 had received a report on the World
Christian Community which said:

In view of the change in Government policy with regard
to Japanese-Canadians, we request:

- (1) That the Executive Committee, on behalf of National
Council, write a letter to the Dominion Government com-
mending their policy for rehabilitation of these people and
give specific suggestions as to how this policy may be
effectively carried out.
- (2) That local units undertake to write similar letters to
the Government and take action locally.
- (3) That local units be informed immediately should further
developments occur.
- (4) That, should further action be necessary, efforts be
made to take it as Christians in co-operation with Y.W.C.A.,
Y.M.C.A. and the Churches.³

The 1947 National Council adopted a commission report on
"The Political Aims and Responsibilities of the Christian Student"
which recommended that the Student Christian Movement petition the
Government supporting a bill of rights to protect civil liberties--
in view, for example, of the violation of human rights presented

¹ Canadian Student, December, 1945, p. 23.

² This information was confirmed by Hutchinson, interview,
Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

³ SCM National Archives, "World Christian Community-Appendix
F, National Council, 1945," (Mimeographed), p. 3.

by the proposed deportation of Japanese-Canadians, confiscation of their property, and denial of their civil liberties.

The "Report of the Commission on Politics" adopted by the May 1948 National Council viewed with favour some change in the situation:

We would commend the Federal Government for the steps which have been taken in the partial removal of the travel restrictions imposed upon the Japanese Canadians and in the setting up of a Commission to investigate property losses with a view to re-imbursement. We recognize, however, that there are still instances of infringement of civil liberties and that we cannot rest content until these have been removed.

Instances of such infringements are:

- (a) The ban against residence of Japanese-Canadian people in some parts of B.C.
- (b) The disqualification from voting at both Provincial and Federal elections of Japanese Canadians in B.C. and of evacuees in Alberta.
- (c) The refusal to grant fishing licences to Japanese-Canadians in B.C.

We feel that the right of banishment conferred upon the Federal Government by the Privy Council in its decision on the deportation of Japanese Canadians is a dangerous precedent and that every effort should be made to remedy this situation.¹

The final documentation on the subject in National Council reports ends on a note of protest. It speaks of the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians functioning ever since the enforced evacuation of the Japanese Canadians from the Pacific Coast in an attempt to achieve justice for persons against whom Canada had discriminated.

¹ National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-23, 1948, "Report of the Commission on Politics," p. 53.

In the last two years the Committee has been attempting to secure from the government a settlement for losses incurred during the evacuation. Counsel has been retained, and a Government Commission is conducting the investigation. Claims for more than three million dollars were filed, and it appears that a settlement offered by the government will approximate one million dollars. The Committee is recommending to the Japanese Canadians that the offered settlement be accepted, subject to the following continuing objections:

1. the general unjust treatment
2. the narrow terms of reference of the Commission, which prohibit an adequate compensation for losses.¹

The issue of Japanese-Canadians' rights was one on which much of the action was taken by individual SCM'ers through the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians, but even so, as shown, the Movement felt and took responsibility as a collectivity as well.

Its actions on the Japanese-Canadian issue may be seen as a response to the sort of injustice which SCM ideology was ready to seize upon-- an issue with an international aspect, with an appeal to the outlook of openness and community of the SCM which issues in a special sensitivity to minorities, with relevance to the Christian perspective of the equality of all people in the eyes of God, and with a need for political action.

Another expression of concern for a minority (as far back as the foundation of the SCM), has been, French Canadians' rights and role in Canada.

¹ National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-23, 1948; "Report of the Commission on Politics," p. 53.

At the national conference from December 28, 1922, to January 2, 1923, one of the addresses was on "The French-Canadian Anglo-Saxon Question", by Senator Belcourt, who was warmly received.

Following the conference, the SCM at McGill University decided to sponsor follow-up study groups. In the two groups on Canada's Economic Problems and on Nationalism and Internationalism about thirty-five French-Canadian students from the University of Montreal participated, with all papers being given in the mother tongue of the speaker and discussion following in the other language. This was apparently the first time French and English speaking students from the two universities were meeting together. Some units had study groups on French Canadian-English Canadian relations, definitely in the 1920's and 1930's, and perhaps also later groups on "race" included consideration of French Canadian-English Canadian relations, as did some work camps. The 1937 Winnipeg national student conference initiated by the SCM left a Saturday Night writer, because of the interested reception and rousing farewell given to fifteen delegates from the University of Montreal, eulogizing "It may be that, Catholic and Protestant, French and English together, they have lit a fire for the guidance of Canada that will not be put out."¹ (Neil Morrison, later secretary of the

¹ Armour Mackay, "Canadian Students Draw Together at Winnipeg," Saturday Night, January 15, 1935.

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, was chairman of the conference).

Not until the 1960's did National Council express its concern over the "French Canada" issue. Then its major statement of policy came at the September 1964 meeting, when it endorsed the brief which had been earlier presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism on behalf of the Board of Directors.

Following is a summary of its conclusions and resolutions:

1. While not all historians are agreed, nevertheless for the purposes of this presentation, the Board of Directors of the Student Christian Movement of Canada accepts the compact or dualistic theory of Confederation as written into our constitutional tradition and history, and expressive of an experiment in political association which is full of promise and richness. The present situation, however, is so clearly stamped with the dependence and alienation of the French-Canadian nation, that there can be no realistic thought of bilingualism and biculturalism until all the possible measures are taken to guarantee the survival and self-respect of this nation. Perhaps the most serious long-term menace to French Canada is the Anglo-Saxon technological society. Its prime value, efficiency, brooks no differences inherited from the past, and its dynamics are rapidly producing a standard culture which is spreading across national, racial and ideological frontiers. The French language and the acquisition of a significant measure of political self-determinism, as the two significant modes of French-Canadian national self-identity, are, happily, as compatible as any when it comes to linking an identity inherited from the past, with the responsibilities of participating in the present.
2. Our position and recommendations flow from this analysis and certain theological bases. The Christian's attitude and action are informed by a freedom from the prevalent values and structures of society. Love is the work with which he is charged. At the political level, this means the reconciliation of diversity, the respect for difference, the pre-eminence of that which is human. Far from being a pure

idealist, the Christian is a realist who gives expression to his love by working in society for the establishment of justice and equality through social structures and ordinances. Critical and independent, the Christian will cast his lot at any time and place for the values and course of action which, cognizant of reality, are most compatible with brotherhood and justice.

3. Respecting language, we recommend that the Federal Administration, the armed services and crown corporations give full recognition as working languages to both French and English, that private agencies be encouraged to do the same and promote the respect for each of the two languages; that the CBC establish a country-wide French radio and television network to serve all Canada.

4. Respecting education and provincial responsibility, we recommend the constitutional recognition of the right of all Canadian children to instruction offered in either the French or the English language; that English or French as second languages be made obligatory early in elementary school; that an independent commission representative of the two collectivities be established to ensure the guarantee of minority rights; that valid cultural and personal exchange be encouraged and subsidized; that provision be made for the air-mail distribution of daily newspapers.

5. Respecting the Constitution and the Confederation, we recommend the establishment of constitutional provision to ensure the fiscal ability of the provinces to carry out their responsibilities. We feel, however, that the time is right for an even more radical reconstitution of confederation based on the "association principle" for participation of Quebec, state of the French-Canadian nation.

6. With respect to the French-Canadian minorities beyond Quebec we recommend the treatment accorded by Quebec to its English-speaking minority as the norm to be established.

7. In considering the other ethnic groups, we rejoice in the distinctiveness which their continued presence means to Canada. We urge public subsidization of their cultural life and that their gifts to us be better exploited in the area of higher education. Greater language opportunities should be provided in the school curriculum in areas where this is appropriate. It would be desirable for the CBC to assume greater responsibility for broadcasting in the languages of other ethnic groups under the current provisions of the Board of Broadcast Governors for "foreign language broadcasting."

8. With respect to the long range perspective, we are not altogether sanguine that one of the conditions of dualism, the continued flourishing of the French-Canadian nation, is assured. Responsibility in this task is divided, and we urge each party to assume its part: the French Canadians, in terms of power, to impose themselves upon the life of the country in a manner demanding respect and recognition; the English-speaking Canadians, in terms of good will, to accord the extra measure of consideration and respect necessary for the flourishing of any minority.¹

The subsequent National Council made some qualifying remarks, the most important of which was to call into question the dominant impression it felt the brief gave that the BNA Act of 1867 must be completely rewritten in reshaping confederation; National Council's comments suggested that this matter requires a great deal more study, consideration and clarification.²

In the 1960's the SCM began more actively than it apparently had previously, to consider what its structural relationship should be to French Canadian students. September 1961 National Council recommended that the Development Committee study the possibility of extending relationships with French Canadian university student groups, such as "Student Catholic Action" or even of establishing an SCM among French Canadian students.³

¹SCM National Archives, "Brief Submitted by the Board of Directors of the Student Christian Movement of Canada to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism," July 6, 1964.

²National Council Minutes and Reports, September 7-17, 1964, "Current Issues," pp. A-3, A-4.

³National Council Minutes and Reports, September 4-14, 1961, p. 18.

The Relationships Committee of National Council, 1964, "considering our keen interest in French Canada, and our desire to contact French Canadian students for dialogue" recommended that the committee send a letter in French, inviting la Jeunesse Etudiant Catholic in Quebec province to send an observer to National Council, 1965. (It appears that this initiative was fruitless.) National Council of 1964 also provided for the appointment of a French Canadian Roman Catholic as secretary for summer projects. However a memo by Fred Caloren (National Study Secretary and the bilingual contact person who both wrote the Royal Commission brief and catalyzed the increasing contact with French Canadians) on April 1, 1965, reported:

- 1) While visiting in Montreal and Quebec March 17-22, I received a number of names of prospective candidates, mainly from Monsieur l'Abbe Guy Belanger, Chaplain of the Students, Universite de Montreal, and from Monsieur Jacques Laliberte of Action Catholique Canadienne. All but one of those whom I approached declined to consider the possibility. . . .
- 2) I had the opportunity of discussing the whole matter, in principle, with a number of students who know or are related to the SCM, and who reflect a range of French Canadian student nationalistic thought, and with the chaplains, Universite Laval. Some of these had counselled us to go ahead with the idea, a year ago. It is fair to say that they all questioned the advisability of the move in the following terms:

(a) The relationship that the SCM should be seeking with French Canadian students should be that of "parallel organization" rather than of attempting to include French Canadian representation in the Movement as it presently exists. . . .

(b) The appointment of a French Canadian to the SCM National Office could possibly jeopardize the development

envisaged above.

-This individual would inevitably be placed in a personally embarrassing position where he would be looked upon in French Canada, at least to some degree, and depending on the milieu, as "compromised," "bought," "traitor."

-At all events, he would be virtually prevented by nature from conveying to the students of French Canada the impression of SCM transmitted by a bilingual English speaking Canadian who is sensitive to the situation, and represents the ethos of SCM, i.e. an English speaking organization, open, ecumenical and highly sympathetic to French Canada.

-A French Canadian in this role would suggest too readily to many minds either that he was doing this because it was his job, or worse, that it was another example of the old pattern "Hire one to bring them in."

(c) Despite the fact that at the moment there is no "parallel" organization with which to work, we should prepare ourselves and strive towards this eventually. This may involve some frustration on the part of the SCM and may well call for more time and resources being spent on our part.

(d) These reservations and hesitations have reference basically, only to (i) the relationship of such an appointee to French Canada; (ii) the political and not the religious role of the question.¹

It was decided that any eventual formalization of relationships should be made on the principle of paralld organizations rather than staff appointments. Minutes from the Board of Directors meeting on February 4, 1967, record that an informal discussion regarding the SCM's relationship with La Communaute Chretienne was held and the suggestion was made that the possibilities of exchanging observers at one another's meetings be explored.

¹SCM National Archives, Fred Caloren, memo, April 1, 1965.

During the period that he was Study Secretary (1963-1966), Fred Caloren on his visits to local units, often spoke on the "French Canada question"; he found a growing interest but not a vocal demand for study and action on the subject amongst SCM'ers, with the leaders being the most interested. Caloren as Study Secretary also had the major responsibility of the work camp (summer project) program, and set up three bilingual-bicultural summer projects, starting in 1964.

(The third year a couple of French Canadians "took the thing in hand," relieving him of some of the considerable administrative problems involved.) The second year it was decided not to run projects of a bilingual, bicultural nature which had a view to instructing English Canadians about Quebec or in the French language, as the first project had tended to have; Quebecers simply were not interested in that approach. Therefore the subsequent bilingual projects were mental hospital projects, which seemed of most interest to French Canadian as well as to English Canadian students.¹

After three years of these bilingual projects the question was put to the group of interested French Canadians which had developed, of their participation in the 1965-66 Christmas conference at Saskatoon. The SCM could not afford translation equipment; the documents were therefore translated ahead of

¹Fred Caloren, interview, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

time, which helped encourage a solid group of participants from the Universities of Ottawa and Montreal. The conference apparently stimulated groups in Ottawa and Montreal to continue meeting on a frequent basis subsequently, and in Ottawa there was even talk of setting up an SCM; with Caloren's departure from SCM staff and little follow-up the group eventually dispersed, without leaving structures which would have facilitated a continuing SCM presence.

The programme recommendations of the "neo-radicals" at 1969 National Council indicated continuing interest amongst some SCM'ers in Quebec but in large part were not acted on. "As an important factor in our attempts to understand and deal with the Quebec situation, facility in the use of the French language" was "encouraged as a high priority goal for SCM'ers." The neo-radicals recommended that (i) an SCM'er be mandated to investigate the possibilities for an SCM summer project based on an intensive, six-week, French language course in Montreal or Quebec City during late spring or summer, 1970; (ii) the content material of this language learning experience, as much as possible, be descriptions of the social, economic, and political factors found in the French community; (iii) local units, in the interim, be encouraged to set up projects and groups in the study of French language and French-Canadian

problems.¹

National Council of 1970 (May) hoped that the Movement could make use of, even in a limited way, its investment of time, and of the apartment contracted for the project which had been envisaged for the summer, and that the project should co-ordinate its work with the study of Placide Bazoche. Bazoche, the WSCF North American secretary, had been invited to undertake research to interpret the Quebec situation for the English Canadian SCM and wider WSCF constituency, and to include the problem of Francophone minorities outside of Quebec in Canada.²

National Council of 1970 also asked the Atlantic Travelling Seminar, which took place for two weeks immediately following Council, to prepare a report and press release on their observations and conversations on the situation of the Acadian people. Reference was made in the General Secretary's report to the encouraging measure to which franco-phone Canadians had been able to participate in the Atlantic region programme.³

The Board of Directors met in Montreal at Thanksgiving in 1970. The study theme included the Quebec project being developed by Placide Bazoche. A newsletter immediately following

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May, 1969, "Programme Recommendations: Neo-Radicals," p. 13.

²National Council Minutes and Reports, May 1970, p. 9.

³Ibid.

the meeting wrote:

QUEBEC. The SCM has talked much of "radical change." Meeting in Montreal, hostages taken, radio announcements breaking in, police presence, locked doors at the place of meeting, and yet--a strange quietness. On the announcement of the FLQ's taking of Laporte some clapped, others demanded to know why elation. Restlessness with McGill SCM's absence in helping the national Movement understand better Quebec. In the midst of action, silence. The SCM turned to re-affirm its support for making better known in Canada the basic issues through a study packet on Quebec, an interpretive campus speaking programme and a budget for this work of \$2,500.

After other items reported on other subjects, the newsletter concluded:

QUEBEC

In December 1923 of the Canadian Student, monthly magazine of the SCM, appeared "Le Problème De Race et Les Etudiants Canadiens" by Jean Bruchesi.

L'histoire a donné sa réponse. Les vanqueurs grâce à une forte immigration se sont multipliés; leur richesse s'est considérablement accrue, et aujourd'hui ils forment un groupe compact, avec son âme propre, sa langue, et ses coutumes. Les vaincus de 1763, pionniers, colonisateurs, et découvreurs, de ces immenses régions, laissées au nombre de 60,000 sur les rives du Saint-Laurent, se sont à leur tous multipliés. Seuls, sans aucun secours du dehors, ils sont devenus grâce à Dieu, un petit peuple de [sic] trois millions. Ils ont lutté pour conserver leur langue et leur foi. Ils n'ont pas cessé de lutter. Et 160 ans après le traité de Paris l'on retrouve encore, sous un même ciel, les deux grandes races qui s'étaient affrontées sur les Plains d'Abraham et au chemin Ste. Foy.

Si nous savons nous comprendre à l'heure où nous entrons dans la vie, plus tard lorsque les circonstances nous mettront en face les uns des autres, nous saurons encore nous comprendre. . . . Si dans vingt-cinq ans, les races française et anglaise se comprennent mieux, c'est qu'aujourd'hui les étudiants se seront mieux compris.¹

¹SCM National Archives, Newsletter, October, 1970.

The SCM's response to the French Canadian issue may be seen as an example of what Gerald Hutchinson called the SCM's habits of "smelling out new trends" and "picking up the live idea of the time"--in this case, particularly by staff and student leaders, rather than the "rank and file."¹ The SCM's bilingual, bicultural summer projects were forerunners of exchange programs and other summer projects with the same sorts of goals a few years later; the brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism took, for English-speaking Canadians, an extremely progressive view of the issue which only later became popular among left-wing intellectuals, it seemed; the SCM was among the organizations which extrapolated from the increasingly accepted principle of the dualistic theory of Confederation to conclude that the principle of "parallel organizations" was the most satisfactory solution to the problem of French Canadians and other Canadians working together in the voluntary sector; in the early years the SCM showed initiative in bringing together French Canadian and English Canadian students both in conferences and in follow-up study groups.

Also on the issue of minority rights, the SCM has been concerned with native people of Canada. National Council of September, 1947, drew attention to "attacks on civil liberties

¹See above, p. 25.

and violations of human rights" amongst which was "the obsolete and unjust nature of the Canadian Indian Act which has not been changed in any important respect during the past eighty years and which is being studied at present by a House of Commons Committee." They particularly recommended that the local units study and publicize the Canadian Indian question in the very near future and that petitions be sent to Parliament at the proper time.¹

National Council of May, 1948, again put the issue in the context of civil liberties:

Since we believe that one of the basic points of the Christian Faith is that all men are of equal value in the sight of God, we feel that the Christian must be prepared to take action in all instances involving infringement of civil liberties. We feel that in dealing with such instances that a written Bill of Rights would seem necessary to provide a firm foundation for the maintenance of civil liberties. We recognize that the Canadian Citizenship Act has been a great step forward in giving status to the non-Anglo Saxon people resident in Canada.

The Canadian Indian situation was one of the specific fields seen as being of particular concern to Christian people:

It seems evident that before this situation can be adequately dealt with that there is need for a revision of the general framework under which Indian Affairs are administered by the federal government, i.e. The Indian Act. There also seems to be a need for an evaluation and general reformation of the Church's work among the Indian

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 4-13, 1947, Commission Report No. 4, "The Political Aims and Responsibilities of the Christian Student," p. 34.

people. We would recommend the following concrete steps:

(a) A study of the reports which have already been prepared on the situation, e.g., Report of the United Church of Canada, Report of the Vancouver Branch of the Civil Liberties Union.

(b) That the SCM make plans to publicize generally the existing situation throughout the country through public meetings, newspaper articles, radio programs, etc.

(c) That every effort be made to present to students generally the great need for people who will give creative leadership among the Indian people under church and government sponsorship.¹

Concern for native peoples does not show up again in National Council documents until 1958. "The Eskimo and Arctic Development" was recommended by the Current Issues Committee as one suggested area for special social concern of local SCM units during the following year, for three reasons:

(a) The involvement of Canadian SCM in the two recent Arctic summer work projects places the responsibility upon us which comes with special knowledge.

(b) The North has heretofore been too little the responsible concern of southern Canada.

(c) Our aggressive industrial culture and our use of the North as a special defence area has had a disruptive effect on Eskimo life there about which we should be concerned.²

National Council of 1963 passed a motion that a sub-committee be set up by the University of Manitoba, focussing on the problems of the Metis. This committee was to report to National Council of 1964 on its findings, but did not do so.

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-23, 1948, "Report of the Commission on Politics," p. 52.

²National Council Minutes and Reports, September 7-12, 1958, "Current Issues," p. 30.

National Council of 1964 (September) did express a concern for Indian affairs in its Current Issues resolution:

WHEREAS the SCM recognizes the need for Canadians to know and understand the situation of Canadian Indians on and off the reservations, and to co-operate in meeting--

(a) the problems created by integration and assimilation of Western culture;

(b) legal problems resulting from treaties and laws specifically regarding Indians;

WE RECOMMEND:

1. that the SCM explore the possibility of establishing a voluntary study-work community or communities (i) on the format of Operation Beaver, (ii) with Indians resident in cities;

2. that local units be encouraged to establish contacts during the year with Indian-Metis Friendship Centres, with a view to bettering understanding of the problems of Indians and Metis in cities;

3. that local units, especially in provinces having a large Indian population, be encouraged to set up week-end seminars, in conjunction with Indian reserves or villages, on the model of the University of Manitoba SCM "French Weekend Seminars" of 1963.¹

National Council of 1969 approved a "Native Peoples Programme" proposed by the "Radical Caucus" Programme and endorsed by the "Neo-Radicals":

Arising out of the joint Native Peoples Defense Fund project of the Protest Alliance Against Native Extermination (P.A.N.E.) and the Edmonton SCM, there has been considerable discussion of how this project might be related to other groups. We must begin with the presupposition that the paternalistic do-gooder projects of the past and present are clearly not what is needed. Initiative and control must remain with the native people. Once integrity and autonomy of both native and white groups is understood, joint projects can proceed.

Projects which may be either educational or action must

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 7-17, 1964, "Report of Commission on Current Issues," p. A-7.

be worked out in local situations. A key concern should be to provide a forum for "Red Power" advocates, such as Willie Dunn or Tony Antoine, in both white and native communities where possible. This articulation of Red Power arguments should be possible on a national basis perhaps funded through student councils. Occasions may also arise where action projects can begin when injustice done to native people sparks them to take the initiative and look for allies in the wider community. It will also be important to exchange articles written by native people on their understanding of the Canadian situation. A large educational and interpretive role is required especially in conjunction with action projects.

The Edmonton SCM could serve as the facilitating centre for much of this thrust in the SCM. Already the units in the Western region have shown interest in making this native peoples program a local and regional concern. The request for funds is thus both for specific allocation to the [Alberta] Native Peoples Defense Fund but also for wider regional and possibly national use.

Funds

Native Peoples Defense Fund (Alberta)

-Floating bail fund	\$1000	
-legal aid	200	
-Indian and the Law pamphlet	390	
		\$1,500.00
Expansion of Native Peoples Program		
-research, publications, postage	300	
-partial travel expenses (Red Power speakers)	200	
		500.00
Total request		\$2,000.00 ¹

The "Neo-Radicals" further recommended the formation of a Task Force to implement and coordinate other Native People's programmes, the development of "cadres" in Vancouver, Regina and Winnipeg where interest in and resources for such programmes could be found, an intense exposure in the third issue of the

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May, 1969,
"Programme Recommendations: Radical Caucus," p. 13.

proposed national SCM Bulletin of all information and activities surrounding such programmes, and the provision of further information on native people's programmes through the Edmonton Task Force from the national staff and Toronto contacts with the Institute for Indian Studies.¹

The General Secretary's report to National Council for 1968-70 noted that the Edmonton and Winnipeg local SCM's had been most active in the area of concern for native peoples. "Winnipeg SCM's summer project on Indian and Metis in the Urban complex should provide a better understanding and action base for this concern strongly registered at Banff [National Council, 1969], and might be a legitimate place to provide some national SCM finances earmarked for native peoples."²

National Council of 1970 (May) recommended:

(1) The SCM of Canada recognizes that the Native People have known and continue to experience oppression within Canadian society and resolves to support their struggle to develop an awareness of their identity and their efforts to liberate themselves from economic, social and cultural imperialism.

(2) That the SCM allocate \$500, budgeted in 1970 for Native Peoples, to the SCM summer project in Winnipeg. If the funds are not required, they shall return to the same national fund.

(3) The Winnipeg project will centre around the making of a film by a group of students living in a downtown area where many Indian and Metis people come into the city.

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May, 1969, "Programme Recommendations: Neo-Radicals," p. 15.

²National Council Minutes and Reports, May, 1970, "Back to the Future: Report to the SCM National Council for 1969-70 and Beyond of the General Secretary" (Donald Wilson).

The film will only be made with the joint participation and co-operation of the people themselves; all parts of the film will be discussed with those appearing in it and their friends.

The project in Winnipeg and the film coming from it may provide basis for pressure on government, businesses and other financial interests for further job training opportunities and financial assistance e.g. an unused Winnipeg hotel might be used by the Native People if desired. It might be used to give them a place to stay when they first come to the city as an alternative to ghetto housing situations. Here, there would be an opportunity for them to speak their language and to have a type of solidarity with their own people, thus hopefully preserving their cultural identity to a significantly large degree.¹

Both Wilson's report and National Council's "Programme 1970-71" recommended an "Arctic Project" for 1971 to involve about ten people in various facets of life in the North--one of the themes being the "Northern Peoples"--to study their existing conditions and perhaps make some recommendations to the Native Peoples Defence Fund of Alberta. This project was carried out, with visits to the Indian Friendship Centre in Winnipeg, and contacts with the Native Brotherhood and the Department of Indian Affairs in Edmonton and Whitehorse.

Concern with the native peoples of Canada was probably stimulated by the participation in the SCM of students and leaders whose interest had earlier been aroused by church activity in this area. This church activity was often concerned

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May, 1970, "SCM National Programme 1970-71," p. 8.

with "bringing them in" to the Christian flock; SCM'ers, within the framework of their general criticism of church policy, objected to this orientation and revised church policies, in the light of their own ideology, to be more politically directed in attempts to alter the Indians' and Eskimos' situation, more equipped to deal with sociological problems, and more insistent about legal rights. In general, as with the other policies dealing with minorities' rights, the SCM's stance arose from its ideals of equality, openness and community.

A recurring theme in the SCM's concerns has been the problems of workers, seen in the context of a criticism of industrial life generally.

One section of "Some Canadian Questions: Studies in Preparation for the First Canadian National Student Conference" was on "Society and Industrial Discord." The article was chiefly composed of questions, but these were asked in a manner sympathetic to labour:

What truth is there in the claims of the Oxford manifesto ("Property—its duties and its rights") that property is sacred when guaranteeing the right of personality to develop through the control of things, but that it is no longer defensible when it signifies the control of other persons by means of this control of things?

. . . What does it involve in the way of social action if we accept the principle that a worker is at no time to be without income adequate to sustain efficient life?

. . . Does it [worker participation in industry's operation] solve the great problem of conserving the human status

of the worker? . . . How then can the elements of human nature, suppressed by machine production, be liberated? . . . How can there be actual freedom of contract while one man has absolute control of the means without which another man cannot earn his livelihood? Seeing that the owners or stockholders hire a manager to speak for them, why should not the workers hire an expert to speak for them? . . . Should labour be handed over to the uncovenanted mercies of the ever-growing number of benevolent employers, or should they feel that these "uncovenanted mercies" are assured rights? Is good-will in the employer an adequate alternative to guaranteed freedom of expression through some form of unionism?"¹

At a 1921 Elgin House (in the Muskoka district of Ontario) Conference, one of many over the years which were vital parts of the Movement for three decades, industrial problems were discussed by Dr. Thomas of the Methodist Social Service and Evangelistic Department, W. H. Alderson, President of the Toronto Board of Trade, H. Tracey of the British Labour Party, and M. H. Staples of the UFA. The Varsity commented:

Through the presentation of the many phases of the industrial problem the students could not help but be struck by the fair attitude of the supporters of a new system, toward the employers and owning class labouring under the difficulty of the present system. . . Both Mr. Tracy and Mr. Staples disclaimed any concept . . . that their people were more efficient, less selfish, or better in any way than any other class of people, but they did maintain that their ideals were unselfish, which they could not say of the existing system.²

Throughout the thirties, as has been suggested in Chapter II, SCM'ers were critical of the existing economic order

¹SCM National Archives, "Some Canadian Questions," pp. 14-17.

²Varsity, September 30, 1921.

and concerned about the plight of the unemployed. Furthermore, at the 1937 Winnipeg Conference the Commission on Social Order pointed out that the Church ought to recognize the right of labour to organize and to bargain collectively, and the Church must do everything in its power should government action fail to promote mediation between employee and employer.¹

Gregory Vlastos wrote in 1946 in the Canadian Student, an article entitled "Behind Strikes":

Talk of scientific technology as a gateway to a new level of human dignity must sound like a fairy tale to a factory worker. To date it has not freed him from drudgery. It has generally made his work more monotonous, mechanical, and repetitive than old-fashioned drudgery ever was. It has not brought him security; it has only increased his anxiety. To the ancient fears it has added the new, man-made fear of unemployment. Even in "good times" his relation to the enterprise to which he gives his life is not that of a partner, but of a "hand," a mere means to others' ends, a commodity to be cast aside whenever this suits the users' will. . . . Now that the war has gone, the worker should be fighting for one thing, and so should all the rest of us--full employment. If that were guaranteed the worker, there would be no strikes. Strikes occur because, political promises aside, there is no real guarantee now of full employment for the years ahead. . . .

Wherever a functional association exists and provides service essential to all its members, the fairest way of allocating support may well be the "check-off." An effective labour union is precisely such an association. Without it, experience has shown, wages would be far lower than they are now. . . The real issue in the present conflict is whether the power of labour, which has been growing ever since mid-depression years, will now be broken. It is of paramount importance to all of us that this should be averted. It is to our common interest that the worker should have the will and the power to fight and keep on fighting for his rights. If his spirit is cowed, if he

¹SCM National Archives, Report on the 1937 Winnipeg Conference, "Commission on Social Order."

gives up fighting, the victory of Fascism is certain. Fascism has always seen in the organized worker its most formidable opponent and has used force and fraud to break that power.¹

The most manifest expression of the SCM's concern for labour was in the work camp movement.

The General Secretary of the national Movement wrote to the first Student-in-Industry work campers:

You people are being watched. . . . In the first place, some of the SCM friends feared that we had "Gone Theological" and were no longer interested in the problems of human welfare. The situation was expressed unwittingly in the sign directing strangers to our new office space: The SCM--Upstairs and to the right. While that fear has largely been met in other ways, this is our first full-scale venture in social relations and a great many people are interested. The real basis for the project is of course the conviction of members of the Work Camp Committee and of the SCM that Christians must develop a more realistic approach to the problems of industrial society, and that as individuals we must gain a working understanding of Christianity if we would truly serve God.²

One observer of the work camp wrote:

Can we link up our religion with our social passion? Many of us have two compartments. Religiously we are liberal; economically we are socialists. Have the two any relationship? That is the issue we faced. Of course we didn't solve it. Ready made solutions are never satisfactory. Life adjustments have to be worked out with blood, sweat and tears. My hope is that we were able at least to indicate some of the possible ways by which a correlation between

¹Gregory Vlastos, "Behind Strikes," Canadian Student, January, 1946, pp. 41, 46.

²SCM National Archives, "The Giant Forge," booklet on the first Student-in-Industry Camp, Welland, Ontario, summer, 1945, article "G. M. Hutchinson Says," p. 25.

our religion and our social actions can be made, so the dynamic of religion may reinforce social action, and social action may clarify religion.¹

Amongst the concerns of the students as they found their places in industry was their own economic inequality.

There was no uniformity of income, expenses and need factors; rather there was a wide discrepancy that was explainable only "by Chance." There seemed to be no economic standard among the various industries in which we worked, and so we set about to establish a measure of economic justice within the camp.²

These first work campers drew up a voluntary wage pool scheme which took into consideration travel, overtime, and other claims after allowing each camper a basic minimum wage. Wage pools of various sorts continued to be features of SCM work camps.³

Most industrial work camps were concerned with the Christian in politics as a result of their criticisms of the industrial order. While it would be impossible to characterize the political convictions of all industrial work campers, it seems that most emerged, if they were not already, socialists. The influential Lex Miller, director of two Canadian SCM industrial work camps, made a speech reported in the 1949 Montreal Industrial Work Camp log:

¹Ibid., Harvey G. Forster, "Looking at the Work Camp From Outside," p. 24.

²Ibid., p. 5.

³Ibid.

The result of our historical view and specific exemplification is that we are brought up against the necessity for us in the present political era to submit ourselves to Christ and to the fact that capitalism is on the way out. We should avoid spiritually dangerous bourgeois privileges and should seek vital identification with common people--with the forces that are making the new order. Not an uncritical identification, however. And in recognizing this we come up against the problem of communism. Lex didn't claim to have the answer, but he said that he was inclined to believe, as a result of his political experience, that it is almost impossible to make lasting alliances with communists. He would rather maintain an uneasy and violently critical relationship with the Social Democratic movement.¹

Similarly, the director of the 1956 St. Columbus House (Point St. Charles) Student-in-Industry Project wrote:

The motivation for, and hence the purpose of an industrial project arises out of certain factors in the industrial scene which present the Church with a challenge. Industrial projects are not, let it be said immediately, an answer to the challenge; they merely explore the situation and educate university students in the problems. What are these factors?

First. In many of the industrial nations of the world, there is little or no contact between the industrial working class and the Church. In all industrial nations this group is one of the sections of society least touched by the churches.

Second. Industry represents one of the, if not the most important, pervasive and influential forces in modern society. For many reasons, too numerous to mention, the churches have either not done or have been unable to do much to make the Christian gospel relevant and demanding to the modern industrial scene. Industrial projects set out to consider what it means to be a Christian in industry.

They ask, in effect, the questions "How can the Christian relate his activity in the factory with his offering of

¹SCM National Archives, Log of 1949 Montreal Student-in-Industry Work Camp, "The Twentieth Century Christian" (report on talk by Lex Miller, director).

himself to God?" and "What difference does one's Christian faith make in one's behavior in the factory?"

Third. The industrial scene has been in the past, and in the opinion of many still is an area characterized by gross exploitation, injustice, and autocracy. The projects ask if this is so, and if so, what should and can Christians do about it.

These are the basic reasons for the camp. But to me there is another reason, subsidiary but nevertheless important. It has often been pointed out that the individualism of modern life is in contradiction to man's basic nature and the Christian Faith. "Man is a social animal" says the sociologist, and Christianity is a corporate religion. This isolation of the individual in society brings its own seven devils in the mass society in which the individual is lost. The extreme of this is seen in fascism; and of course every Westerner has no trouble seeing it in communism, even if he is too far sighted to see it in capitalism. True community, however, is Christian community. Industrial projects are limited (very, very limited, I fear) attempts to create a Christian community with its working base in industry.¹

The effects on SCM'ers of this experience in a Student-in-Industry Project were assessed:

First-hand experience of some of the injustices and evils of the industrial institution: arbitrary dismissals, intimidation of union organizers, low wages and unhealthy working conditions in non-union factories, the devices of speed-up and slow-down, and racial and sex discrimination, economic dependence on armament production, experience of unemployment, these and many others tend to become pent up in any concerned young person of high ideals. This awareness of the problem, and the student's sense of escape from it, leaves a deep frustration, not simply at the end of the camp, but during the summer as well. A feeling of hostility, directed ultimately towards the captains of industry, has been a frequent element in industry camp atmosphere. The answer to the problem has sometimes then

¹SCM National Archives, Records of 1956 Student-in-Industry Project, St. Columbus House, Point St. Charles--Rev. Vince I. Goring, Director, "The Purpose of a Student-in-Industry Project."

been framed in quite radical political terms. The evils of our industrial structure can be cleansed only by a socialistic reconstruction of industry, and to this end men of good will should strive for the unity of labour and the development of a political aim similar to the British pattern. In some cases, students have at least temporarily accepted the Marxist analysis, and have found the responsibility of entering and intensifying the class struggle to hasten the birth of socialism. A few summers ago, a considerable group of students from one of the industry camps, in facing this, made the decision to continue in industry as members of the working class, rather than returning to university, so that sustained union work could be carried out. This group gradually modified its analysis and objectives and slowly dispersed after three years.¹

Industrial work camps continued throughout the fifties to the mid-sixties.

The nature of the issues was changing somewhat, but the concern was in the same area: in 1961, for instance, National Council, in view of the need for "serious and imaginative attention to meet the problems of unemployment and inflation," recommended that local units undertake serious study of the problems of unemployment caused by automation, industrial growth of developing nations, and the existing economic structure of North America.²

After the "introspective" period of the SCM in the mid-sixties, Don Wilson (General Secretary from 1968 to 1971) commented, the same tendency towards idealization of the worker

¹Roy DeMarsh, "Canadian SCM Student in Industry Projects," Student World, XLVI, No. 4 (1953), p. 374.

²National Council Minutes and Reports, September 4-14, 1961, "Current Issues," p. 34.

which had been present in the SCM in the early 1950's emerged again; he quoted the example of some National Council members being ecstatic when they drank beer with the workers.¹

National Council of May, 1970, expressed concern about some of the working conditions noted in a visit to a fish packing plant during Council's sessions held in New Brunswick. It also passed a resolution on the possible strike of postal workers:

Whereas the National Council of the Student Christian Movement of Canada recognizes the effort of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and the Letter Carriers' Union in their continuing the workers' struggle for human equality by their strike action.

Be it resolved that:

- the National Council of the Student Christian Movement of Canada actively support the Letter Carriers' Union and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers in their efforts to achieve adequate working conditions and a wage which will enable them to live in dignity.
- the National Council of the Student Christian Movement of Canada, fully aware of student summer-employment problems, strongly condemns the use of student scab labour.
- the National Council of the Student Christian Movement of Canada encourages its individual members to give the strikers their full support.

And be it resolved that the National Council of the Student Christian Movement of Canada censure the Government of Canada for making working people suffer the consequences of the policy that misleadingly considers "inflation" as the major economic obstacle to social progress.

This resolution is to be sent to federal members of Parliament, locals of all unions in which there are SCM units, major newspapers, Roger Decarie and William Houle of the Union.²

¹Donald Wilson, interview, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

²National Council Minutes and Reports, May, 1970, p. 16.

The SCM as a group, then, has sometimes taken action on the issue of workers in the industrial society, and has also influenced individual SCM'ers in their private actions through the impact of its program.

For a group whose participants' social backgrounds were only rarely likely to be working class, reflecting the bias in opportunities for young people to achieve Canadian higher education, the continued concern of SCM'ers with the problems of workers may seem anomalous. The depression was the major external stimulus originally leading students to the conclusion that labour should have the right to organize, bargain collectively, and to raise financial support through the "check-off." The work camp movement was the major stimulus in this area from within the SCM (often leading participants to the conclusion that "the evils of our industrial structure can be cleansed only by a socialistic reconstruction of industry, and to this end men of good will should strive for the unity of labour and the development of a political aim similar to the British pattern"; the experience of "some of the injustices and evils of the industrial institution: arbitrary dismissals, intimidation of union organizers, low wages and unhealthy working conditions in non-union factories, the devices of speed-up and slow-down, and racial and sex discrimination, economic dependence in armament production, experience of unemployment"--these, in large measure, produced the SCM stance on the

issue of labour.¹

The SCM, then, meets the definition of a group with an ideology. We have summarized at the end of Chapter Two the succession of key ideas which could be called, following our definition of ideology, generic ideas potent in specific situations of conduct: political ideas, values specifying a given set of preferences, beliefs governing particular modes of thought: the Social Gospel, neo-orthodoxy, co-option by other groups, the "God is dead" theology, and the current "political theology". Chapter III gives the SCM's statements of its positions on issues--the other segment of its ideology. Although this chapter is selective in its discussion of the issues with which the SCM has been concerned, a more complete listing of the issues on which the SCM has spoken would support Cupps' proposition that "[a] well developed ideological dimension tends to increase the number of issues on which a group feels it must take a stand."²

Cupps' proposition that "ideology sometimes puts limits on the tactics or methods which a group feels it may employ" will be touched upon in Chapter IV, in the discussion of the SCM's relations with government, and in Chapter V, in

¹Above, pp. 166-167.

²Above, p. 89.

the discussion of the SCM's relations with other groups.¹ More generally, Gregory Vlastos' feeling was probably representative:

The ethic of loving your fellow man not only sensitizes you to suffering of others and makes you feel that you yourself cannot let yourself out of this responsibility (for the suffering of others) but it also guides you in the matter of tactics. How are you going to deal with your opponent, your adversary? Our Communist friends felt not only that they were entitled to it, but their duty, to use certain descriptions of their adversaries--"the capitalists" or whatever it was which belittled him, demeaned him as a human being . . . Where are you going to draw the line? Are you going to say that even when you're fighting, and fighting meant including even the Second World War--because I was in that situation--do you really love your enemy? It seems to me that it makes an enormous difference--if you're guided--if you take that commitment seriously and say if I'm fighting them because of love for the German people--and you mean that--that's not a phrase.¹

In the late 1960's SCM student leaders seemed to have been swept up in the "politics of confrontation" but it is impossible to say how fundamental their attachment was to the philosophy behind the new tactic--and whether they might still view it as part of the tradition of the "ethic of love" about which Vlastos speaks.

What comments are in order? The argument that the SCM has an ideology may destroy some illusions on the part of some SCM'ers. The concepts of "openness" in the SCM and of the SCM as a free forum for discussion have long been lauded (and with reason,

¹ Above, p. 89

² Gregory Vlastos, Panel on the 1930's, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

in my estimation) in the Movement. But these conceptions of the nature of the SCM are parts of its ideology which facilitate other parts--an "open movement" is no less ideological than a liberal-progressive teacher who is a catalyst for the expression of diverse viewpoints. On the whole, what the SCM's "open community" has facilitated has been expression of a progressive ideology not popular in "mainstream" institutions--the churches, most student groups, and major pressure groups. While accommodating, as well, more conservative participants, the SCM is still ideological--tolerance being one of its ideological characteristics.

The student of Canadian politics could interpret this tolerance of ideological diversity as does Horowitz: that English Canada is not a one-myth culture, that here ideological diversity has not been buried beneath an absolutist liberal nationalism, with the result that English Canada "does not direct an uncomprehending intolerance at heterodoxy In English Canada it has been possible to consider values without arousing the all-silencing cry of treason."¹ There is some evidence, at least, of tolerance of heterodoxy both within the SCM, and, on the whole, towards it from the outside community, although further examination of the Horowitz thesis is certainly needed in relation to the SCM before

¹Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 18.

reaching a final judgment.

There arises the question of the origins of an ideology and of ideological change. Lane reviews four main approaches to the question of the development of an ideology: The first is in the traditions of intellectual history--"how the thought of one generation or one man influences another, how the circumstances of the times affect men's formulations and selections, and how these ideas serve to structure institutions and social life." A second account is offered under the name of the sociology of knowledge, in modern form arising from the Marxian doctrine that ideologies are merely the superstructure built upon the economic foundations of a society and designed to rationalize the pursuit of special interests. "Others have argued the case for a broader interpretation of the problem, emphasizing that not only rationalized interests are shaped by the social position of the observers but also attention, perspective, and truth itself have this relational property." A third account emphasized the analysis of basic personality and the employment of psychoanalytic theory. The argument is that "since ideologies are heavily laced with projective material arising from intrapsychic states, the model personalities of the group selecting and using an ideology have a strong influence on ideology formation." One proponent of this approach says that social ideologies make use of the experience of a society, but they are "polarized in the direction of unconscious motiva-

tion." A fourth approach, rather than utilizing the concept of "ideology", in a piecemeal way studies the correlation of particular ideologies (e.g. liberalism, pacifism, unlabeled Fascism, internationalism, Machiavellianism) in its contribution to an understanding of ideology's causes and conditions.¹ Lane proposes a paradigm combining the main elements of these approaches which affect the change of political ideology for a social group:

For a society: an existential base creating certain common experiences interpreted through certain cultural promises by men with certain personal qualities in the light of certain social conflicts produces certain political ideologies.

Existential base means the social and physical patterns of life (modes of production, the technological foundations, the property arrangements, the industrialization, urbanism, gross national product, shape and content of social stratification, pattern of community life, the educational arrangements, the geographic and demographic conditions of society.)

Experience means engagement in a life of work and love and hope and frustration in the ongoing pattern, (with social ideology contributed to by the shared experience.)

Cultural premises tell men what they are to think of the experiences they have and how they are to cope with them.

Personal qualities help shape men's interpretation of their experience, using their cultural premise.

Social conflict is produced by rival groups seeking the power, wealth and status to be had in a society. ("Each such group must invoke a moral justification for its part in the conflict in order to retain the loyalty of its supporters, to enlist new supporters, and to counter the moral appeal of its opponents. Spokesmen for the group elaborate political ideologies embracing theories of divine right, of natural rights, or equal rights, of popular sovereignty, of exploitation that give moral rationales

¹ Robert Lane, Political Ideology (New York: Free Press of Glenco, 1963), pp. 414-415.

for their proposals. They provide theories of cause and effect: cycle theories of democracy and tyranny, theories of concentration and separation of government power, of race and degeneracy, of the profit-seeking nature of man and economic development. These moral and empirical theories, then, are advanced by the various parties to social conflict and, so to speak, are constantly "tried out" by the public seeking to interpret its experience from day to day. This trial consists of a series of tests: The ideological features must fit with the personal qualities of the men to whom they are addressed or they lack appeal. They must be seen as congruent with the cultural premises of the society, or they will be seen as unrealistic or dissonant with what is known. And they must somehow make the interpretation of real-life experience both more gratifying and more realistic.")¹

Lane emphasizes that nature does not hold all other elements of this system constant, leaving them free to respond only to changes in the existential base, and that the paradigm sketches a system where change can come from many sources simultaneously, with many points of entry and many separate interactive patterns developing between one element and another.²

A more comprehensive study of the ideology of the SCM might examine the elements in Lane's paradigm in relation to the SCM. Chapters II and III have referred to some of the common experiences which SCM'ers have interpreted through certain cultural premises in the light of certain social conflicts (for example the issues noted). Changes in the

¹ Ibid., pp. 416-419.

² Ibid., p. 423.

existential base (the small "elite" university to the multiversity," for instance) and personal qualities of SCM'ers (their feelings of efficacy or lack of them because of the transitional nature of their student roles, for example) need to be examined more closely. On the origin of the ideology, some of Horowitz's ideas might be examined: that many of those who built the Canadian labour and socialist movements--in which stream the SCM might be fitted--were British immigrants with past experience in the British labour movement and many others were Canadian-born children of such immigrants.¹

¹Horowitz, op.cit., p. 24.

CHAPTER IV

A PRESSURE GROUP AND ACCESS TO POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS:

THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

Chapter I hypothesized that the SCM, as a pressure group, would seek access to political decision-makers. The SCM had indeed been in contact with government on more than forty-five occasions over the years, with its opinions occasionally being sought by government rather than offered gratuitously.

Of thirty-eight issue-inspired representations, the breakdown of focus of the request (with some requests being directed to more than one body) is:

Prime Minister of Canada . . .	8
Opposition party leaders . . .	2
Minister of External Affairs . . .	4
Minister of Citizenship and Immigration . . .	5
Minister of Justice and Attorney General . . .	1
Department of External Affairs . . .	5
Department of Trade and Commerce . . .	1
Secretary of State . . .	3
Parliament of Canada . . .	2

Special Senate Committee . . .	1
National Centennial Administration . . .	2
Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism . . .	1
Ontario Premier . . .	1
"Ontario Government" . . .	1
Ontario Minister of Education . . .	1
Ontario Minister of Health . . .	1
All Members of the Ontario Legislature . . .	1
Commission de la Fonction Publique (Québec) . . .	1
Premier Khrushchev . . .	1
President Kennedy . . .	1

In the overwhelming number of cases, then, access was sought through the executive and bureaucracy rather than through members of the legislative or legal systems.

With some multiple use of method for one issue, the contact was through the following vehicles:

briefs . . .	10
petitions . . .	6
resolutions . . .	5
letters . . .	17
letters including resolutions . . .	2
open letters . . .	1

telegraphed endorsement of a brief . . .	1
telegraphed resolutions . . .	2
telegrams . . .	2
picketing . . .	1
public means (meeting of protest, letter to the press) . . .	3

In over half the cases, National Council was the body officially sanctioning the seeking of access to various parts of government. The National Executive Committee (later the Board of Directors) also initiated some contacts--around a sixth. National staff, of course, were often charged with the despatch of the various communications, but in at least eight cases initiated the contacts themselves. Since a thorough study has not been made of all conference and local unit activity, nothing can be said with certainty about the frequency or nature of their communications and contacts with various levels of government, but they definitely have sometimes taken independent or supplementary action in voicing the SCM's concerns to government.

Of over forty communications to government, about a quarter concerned the well-being of students and student-centred projects, and the remaining three-quarters were almost equally divided between matters of domestic society and politics, and international political questions, about which the SCM

felt moved to express a viewpoint.¹

The "demands" regarding students were composed as follows. In 1923 the federal government was asked "in the interests of better international understanding and the promotion of the ideal of the League of Nations" to provide twenty-two scholarships to be awarded to graduates of Canadian universities for post-graduate study in another country, fifteen in addition to be awarded to members of the British Empire excluding Canada, sixty-four to be awarded to students from countries named to study in Canada. In 1942 the Ontario Minister of Education was asked to adopt the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Plan in Ontario universities (most of the other provinces having already subscribed to the plan), because of the important role of higher education in the war effort, the need for more scholarships especially in the Medical and Engineering faculties, and the need for more scholarships to be granted to students from the rural areas. In 1956 government advice was sought on Canadian participation in the World Youth Festival, which was Communist-dominated. In 1958 government interest was solicited in the International Student Community (an SCM Summer Work project) with regard to (i) assistance in obtaining financial assistance in operating the project on a large scale and in other areas than that already established; (ii) assistance

¹Sources for the "demands" expressed by the SCM (discussed in the next eight pages, may be found in Appendix B.

in providing displays, study materials, and speakers at government expense. In 1960 the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration was urged to permit foreign students studying in Canada to take summer employment on the same basis as Canadian students.

In 1961 the Department of Labour and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration were both urged to continue to inform foreign students as fully as possible about the current situations and policies concerning summer employment before they entered Canada, so that they might be adequately prepared to face the issue should it arise. In 1963 the National Centennial Administration was given a submission for support for a travel and exchange program. In 1964 the SCM enquired of the Secretaire, Commission de la Fonction Publique, Quebec, about the possibility of a summer project which would deal with the public service of Quebec. In 1965 the Secretary of State and the Centennial Commission were urged to reconsider an application of the Student Union for Peace Action for assistance under the Youth Travel and Exchange Programme, which had been rejected, allegedly for "political" reasons; the SCM said it strongly supported a policy of assistance to the whole spectrum of Canadian youth. In 1965 a request was made to the Centennial Commission for financial assistance with travel to the Christmas Conference. In 1968 the Secretary of State through the Citizenship Branch

granted a request for financial assistance with travel costs for National Council. In 1971 the Travel and Exchange Division granted a request for help with travel for the SCM travelling Yukon Seminar.

The "demands" regarding domestic society and politics were composed as follows. In 1942 a petition of protest was wired to Ottawa on the Japanese Canadian question:

We, the members of the Central Council of the SCM in the University of Toronto, view with alarm the impending action of the Canadian Government in sending to Japan within the next few weeks 10,300 Canadian residents of Japanese origin. . . because we believe that this contradicts the principles of justice and is a denial of the democratic rights of minorities, which would be a blot upon the name of our country. Therefore we respectfully urge the Canadian Government to delay action until the facts may be more widely known and a full expression of informed public opinion can be given.¹

In 1950 the SCM endorsed a Civil Liberties Association submission to the Ontario government of the need for a Fair Employment Practices Act and legislation to prevent discrimination in restaurants and in places of amusement. In 1950 National Council decided to send a resolution to the Senate Committee on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms "expressing our approval of the establishment of this Committee and our concern both as Christians and young Canadians, for the better observance of human rights and freedoms in Canada and stating

¹Varsity, October 12, 1942.

also our desire for the incorporation of a statement of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the Constitution of Canada."¹

In 1953 the SCM expressed its students' concern about certain provisions of the proposed revision of the Criminal Code of Canada: (a) the indication, in the general increase of penalties, that the Government had not incorporated in law some of the fruits of modern thought on the subject of criminal reform; (b) the undermining of necessary and hard-won labour weapons without ensuring their equivalent through legislation providing increased union security; (c) the vague and ambiguous wording in definitions of treason, which on the one hand would endanger essential civil liberties and on the other, might not deter determined subversion. In 1956 the SCM submitted to the Ontario Minister of Health a flattering brief about the progress in mental health care in the province, and included a suggestion that he plan the establishment of a mental health work camp under the SCM. In the late 1950's the SCM submitted a brief to Mrs. Ellen Fairclough, the Honourable Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, urging a

radical revamping of Canada's immigration policy. . . .

We do realize that totally unchecked immigration can produce
~~severe strains in the Canadian economy, not to speak of~~

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May 15-25, 1950, "Report of the Political Commission," p. 47.

possible unfortunate non-economic consequences. Practical and realistic considerations, therefore, may make some sort of control and selection imperative. Our plea is that in such cases, selection should not be based on colour, creed and ethnic origin.¹

In 1958 the SCM was one of twenty-two organizations presenting a brief to the Premier of Ontario urging amended legislation and a program of education to cover use, rental or sale of multiple dwellings against discrimination. In 1958 the SCM gave approval of a request by the Chinese Canadian Association and the Japanese Canadian Citizens Association of Canada, to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, that changes be made in the policy of the Immigration Department and in its Immigration Regulations to place Canadian citizens of Asian ancestry on an equal plane with other Canadian citizens.

In 1960 a further brief by the SCM was submitted to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration on Canada's Immigration Laws.

In 1964-1965 the SCM, in communication with the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, submitted a brief, upon request submitted information about its summer project "Canadian/Canadien," upon request wrote a letter illustrating the "offensiveness of Protestant churches in their indiscriminate confusion of matters of faith and 'national' interest (as English Canadians

¹SCM National Archives, "Brief Submitted by the Student Christian Movement of Canada to the Honourable Minister of Citizenship and Immigration," n.d.

in general understand 'national' interests)," and upon request wrote a letter elaborating on their brief's statement "la situation actuelle, loin refléter l'égalité entre les deux peuples qui ont fondé le Canada est caractérisée par un état de dépendance et d'aliénation de la part du Canada français."¹

The "demands" regarding international questions were composed as follows. In 1931 the SCM sent a petition signed by 8,500 students to Mr. Bennett, the Prime Minister, urging a strong stand by the Canadian delegation at the Disarmament Conference and consideration of enlisting the services of two former prime ministers as part of the delegation. In 1938 the University of Toronto SCM, with two other groups, petitioned the Canadian government "to protest the attacks on racial and religious groups in Germany and Austria. We strongly recommend that the Canadian Government undertake immediately its share of responsibility in this international issue, by revising the immigration laws in order to admit a liberal quota of refugees."² In 1943 SCM'ers signed the petition of the Canadian Committee on Refugees to the federal government. In 1946 the SCM wrote to the Prime Minister's office: "We believe that a policy

¹SCM National Archives, memorandum and letters, Fred Caloren to Commission, Gertrude Laing, and André Laurendeau, April 12, 1965.

²Varsity, November 29, 1938.

which deprives the German people of their basic needs gravely imperils the peace and security of Europe and the world."¹

In 1947 the SCM protested against munitions being shipped to China (the Koumintang government). In 1948 the SCM urged the Canadian government to sponsor action in the United Nations Assembly to set up a Commission at the earliest possible moment to investigate the armed conflict in China for the purpose of discovering whether there existed in the situation a threat to world peace. In 1951 the SCM recommended to Mr. Pearson, as Under-secretary of State, the sending of wheat as an outright gift to India. In 1959 the SCM recommended that since the problem of refugee orphans, particularly mixed blood children in Asia, was acute, that the federal government allow their adoption by Canadian parents through the proper channels and immigration into Canada. In 1959 the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Green, was commended on his statement that Canada would admit a substantial number of tubercular patients as immigrants and was requested to carry out the program to the fullest capacity possible. Again in 1959 Mr. Green was commended for his statement that Canada opposed France's plan to explode her first atomic bomb, and for the high priority he was giving to emphasize the need for international study of radiation

¹Varsity, February 26, 1946.

danger. In 1960 letters were sent to Mr. Khrushchev and to Mr. Eisenhower expressing National Council's deep concern for peace and pointing out the continuing contribution that they as world leaders had to make. In 1960 the SCM urged the Minister of External Affairs to recognize the People's Republic of China and support her admission to the United Nations. Similar action was urged upon the Minister in 1961. In 1963 the SCM expressed to President Kennedy its strong support for his personal efforts and those of his administration to realize the fullest expression of civil rights for all his citizens, and its hope and plea that such efforts would be continued and extended to the greatest degree possible. In 1966 and in 1967 Members of Parliament were petitioned by the SCM to work for the end of the Vietnam war and "Canadian complicity."

The demands of the SCM to government, then, were not merely what have been called "self-interested" by students of pressure groups, but were also expressions of broader concerns about Canadian and international society.

Less than one eighth of more than forty approaches to government by the SCM came in the first twenty years of the Movement's fifty year existence (to date). Each decade thereafter the number of representations to government seems to have increased slightly over the initial impetus shown

in the 1940's of at least seven representations made to governments. This increase in the frequency of approaches to government cannot be attributed to a relative lack of concern with political issues in the twenties, much less the thirties. It would be interesting to test the proposition on an array of Canadian pressure groups that as the power of government increased, the citizen turned increasingly to group action to express his demands and viewpoints.

There is nothing in the archives which shows why a particular method was chosen to express a particular view, or how it was decided what channel of access should be used--that, for instance, a petition should be circulated rather than a resolution passed or that members of parliament should be approached rather than the cabinet. Their choice of "missile," because it seemed assumed that it should be within a certain range of "official" vehicles (and non-violent, and usually politely critical) seemed not crucial to its impact, though the occasional choice of "mass participation" rather than "representative elite" expressions bears examination. There were always those who felt that any major political efforts should, even though the intellectual energy for them might have been generated in the SCM, be carried out in other groups. (See below, Chapter V.) One explanation which has been offered

is that

I think the SCM always had a feeling that it was the small group and that there was a broader support to be had if we played it right, and that the SCM I think sometimes [had] almost a phobia for . . . not realizing its own capacity, as it were, but trying to add to its capacity to gain authenticity or to get some important person to work for it, or something of that nature, that we had rather an agonizing self-consciousness about being broader-based.¹

Not only did individual SCM'ers engage in political action through other groups, but also the SCM as a movement sometimes endorsed other groups' briefs to government and participated in their activities. But invariably the SCM shied away from participating in partisan party politics as a movement. Party channels were not seen as acceptable means through which to seek access to government unless all parties were involved equally, and generally even this CBC-ish "equal time" tactic has not been utilized. Informants indicated that "for actual action you went outside but you did most of your thinking inside the SCM." It was felt that the SCM would be harmed if it identified itself with a particular political party and then, for example, found itself stuck with a bad candidate, or having to accept a particular policy. At one Couchiching (SCM annual) conference in the 1940's, when one participant made a strong speech in favour of the CCF

¹Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

it was felt that this was not very tactful; to counteract it the issue was taken in jest at the next meal with the announcements that there would be a meeting of the Conservative Party at the United Church headquarters and a Liberal Party meeting at St. Thomas Anglican Church in Toronto. Despite this, many went out to work for the CCF. One informant felt that if the assumption that SCM'ers should operate as individuals rather than through the Movement in party politics had been questioned, a decisive factor against such corporate action would have been the fear that the churches would have withdrawn support of the SCM. At the same time, work camp documents, in particular, and many informants indicated that the SCM experience inclined its graduates toward sympathy if not active affiliation with the CCF and then the NDP, at least on the part of the SCM's more active participants. There have, of course, been exceptions, Liberals and Conservative, and certainly Marxists, even party members who felt that the SCM should devote all its energies to "the cause."

Public relations techniques and public opinion campaigns of the American style have generally not been used by the SCM in an effort to impress the government. Its concern with image seems more inspired by its performance of other functions considered necessary to its membership than its mobilization for

political ends.¹ The SCM's attempts to influence political decision-makers through the influence of public opinion have been rather indirect--it has sought to educate, particularly in the university constituency, about social and political responsibility in general, and on certain issues, as an expression of religious conviction. It has not extended this feeling of responsibility to initiate letter-writing campaigns or techniques of that sort, which are sometimes, incorrectly, equated with "public opinion" campaigns.

In conclusion, what interpretation can be given to the focus of request, the tactic or method, the source of initiative for the request, and the nature of the request, of the SCM's representation to government? The general lack of "clues" from SCM documentary sources has already been noted. This lack of specific information necessitates tentative judgments made through application from other pressure group studies of ideas which seem to explain SCM circumstances.

In observing the points of contact with government chosen by SCM, one must note the federal and parliamentary nature of the government structure.

This dissertation, because it does not examine SCM

¹Theodore Lowi, *The End of Liberalism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969), pp. 36-38.

local unit activity, does not give an extensive account of communications to provincial and local governments, which, it can be assumed, would generally be initiated by local SCM units. It is interesting, however, to note the phenomenon of national agencies of a pressure group making claims upon a provincial government (Ontario). It bears further examination whether this is a common occurrence with Canadian pressure groups, or whether they more generally are as conscious of federal-provincial division of power as are governmental agencies. In the case of the SCM, this practice may be related to the nature of its own structure; there are no provincial associations of SCM's, but only local university-based units and national bodies.

The parliamentary nature of the government in Canada imposes on pressure groups who want to influence government another set of restrictions. One could apply Eckstein's interpretation of the British situation to Canada:

Pressure is concentrated upon the executive in Britain [Canada], first, because of the logic of cabinet government in a political system having two [or more] highly disciplined parties; such a system simply precludes any consistently successful exertion of influence through members of Parliament, or, less obviously perhaps, through the political parties.¹

In regard to the SCM's restricted view of tactics or

¹Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics, p. 17.

methods it employed, Cupps' proposition, already stated, seems relevant--that "ideology sometimes puts limits on the tactics or methods which a group feels it may employ."¹ In the face of a lack of archival material and lack of ability on the part of informants to explain the reasons for such a limited view of tactics (that is, the overwhelming reliance on very "traditional" modes of representation--briefs, letters, resolutions), this alleged relationship between ideology and tactics is based on speculation. But various statements--by Vlastos on the ethic of love prescribing primary concern for one's fellow man, by Hutchinson contrasting the Christian's concern for the person and what the system does to him with the Marxist system of thought "which takes its own reality, with the individual somewhat irrelevant to the issue," and by Queen's SCM students in the mid-1960's objecting to an insult made to the principal of the university by one of their younger members who was enamoured with the increasingly popular "confrontation" (rude confrontation) techniques--all these show, for the greater part of the SCM's history, a concern for the niceties of interpersonal relations which more abrasive confrontation techniques would disregard.²

¹Above, p. 89.

²Vlastos, panel on the 1930's, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference; Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972; Marg Dymant, conversation, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

That it was an "intellectuals'" movement--at least this has been a common perception of it among undergraduate students--may also partially explain the penchant for resolutions; endless discussion and official statements may be considered an "occupational hazard."

That properly constituted authorities were generally the initiators of contact with government is a reflection of the constraints of a democratic political culture, but also of the jealously guarded "student-run" nature of the Movement. Members of national staff seem not to have been challenged on the few occasions when they took the initiative in contacting government, although both their conviction and that of the students that the Canadian Movement should be student-run would seem to place sanctions on such initiatives. The exigencies of time and circumstance may have legitimated such staff initiative in their own and students' eyes. Even with these (one fifth) communications initiated by staff, some speculation may be engaged in--that the SCM is unusual among Canadian pressure groups in having most of its representations to government initiated by non-staff bodies, and that this is related to the intense commitment by both students and staff to the ideal of a democratic, student-run movement.

In explanation of the varied nature of issues on which

the SCM has taken a position, Cupps' other proposition which has been stated above may be useful--that a "well developed [explicit] ideological dimension tends to increase the number of issues on which a group feels it must take a stand."¹ In addition, the SCM was founded in a spirit of national consciousness which continued to arouse its interest in national issues; it was linked to international bodies which stimulated its concerns in international issues; and it was profoundly conscious of its responsibilities and interests as a student-run movement appealing to the student constituency.

In short, the SCM meets the stipulation of our definition that a pressure group seeks access to political decision-makers.

¹Above, p. 89.

CHAPTER V

A PRESSURE GROUP AND THE GROUP COMPLEX:

THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

Chapter I hypothesized that as a pressure group, the SCM will form a group complex with other groups. "Group complex" was taken to mean relationships of a fairly stable character, measured by regular occurrence of contact with other groups. This chapter will briefly describe the SCM's major relationships and their significance.

These relationships were not always taken for granted or carried out matter-of-factly by national staff and student leaders, although SCM'ers at the local unit level were often not aware of their meaning. For example, a March 1950 meeting of the Relationships Committee of the SCM of Canada asked:

Are these relationships an essential part of the task of the Movement? Do they have a bearing on the evangelistic nature of the Movement? Ted Nichols pointed out that there was great need of political education in the Movement not in vague principles but in specific terms of how to take effective action in the Canadian setting. There was considerable discussion of the values of a "positive" as opposed to a "protest" approach in political action. It was agreed that there was need for a great deal more thinking on the question "Is there a Christian way of taking political action?" and that students could only be expected to

come to valid answers to this question if they were actively engaged in closer relations with many of the groups with which we are now connected. It was therefore generally agreed that we would regret any retrenchment in the field of relationships.¹

Furthermore, there is evidence that those charged with maintaining relationships with other groups were conscious of the problems involved in their acting as "spokesmen."

At the Relationships Committee meeting of November 8, 1950, for example:

There was considerable discussion of the proper function of members of this committee. The secretary hoped that the individuals commissioned to maintain liaison with their respective related organisations would not only report on their activities at such meetings of this Committee but also (a) continue to digest and send out to units the copious publications being constantly received in the National Office, (b) correspond with Relationships Conveners of local units apprised of current events, and (c) advise this committee on policy vis-a-vis their respective organisations. On the other hand, it was felt to be obvious danger in entrusting the interpretation of any related organisation to only one person. It was ultimately agreed that "mechanical" operations, e.g. distribution of material, relaying of "indisputable facts," etc., should be handled directly with units by individual members of this Committee, while on matters of "disputable facts" or "value statements," members should consult the committee before taking any action.²

Concern was expressed about how far through the levels of SCM structure the commitment to "relationships" was reaching.

¹SCM National Archives, Minutes of the Meeting of the National Relationships Committee of the SCM, March, 1950.

²SCM National Archives, Minutes of the Meeting of the National Relationships Committee of the SCM, November 8, 1950.

At the February 13, 1952, meeting of the Relationships Committee, for example, the secretary reported that she had discovered on her trip through western Canada that Relationships Conveners, where they existed, did not understand their responsibility and that much of the information that was sent from the National Office with regard to relationships simply did not permeate. She felt that while local units, particularly where there were secretaries, were quite well related to church organizations, they were not taking nearly enough responsibility in such campus groups as International Student Service, Friendly Relationships with Overseas Students, or groups working with foreign students, amongst others.¹

The report of the National Relationships Committee for 1951-52 reiterated that the multiplicity of relationships in which the SCM was involved were meaningful on the local level to only a very limited extent. The report raised the question whether the national committee had failed in its task of interpretation, whether the local units were not sufficiently convinced of the importance of such relationships or whether this situation was inevitable and quite natural.²

..... This self-consciousness about the meaning of its affiliation

¹SCM National Archives, Minutes of the Meeting of the National Relationships Committee of the SCM, February 13, no year given, but probably 1952.

²SCM National Archives, Report of the National Relationships Committee of the SCM, 1951-52.

was most evident in the National Relationships Committee of the SCM, but appeared in considerations of relations with specific groups as well.

The groups to which the SCM has been related may be divided into national and international organizations. (In both instances their local units and SCM units were sometimes in contact, as well as there being an affiliation at the national level, but as already explained, local unit action is being touched only peripherally in this dissertation.) The discussion covers most, but not necessarily all, of the groups with which the SCM has been associated.

We begin with international organizations. The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) was an international Communist-controlled group. The SCM of Canada from 1946 to 1951 was associated with the WFDY. The question of the SCM's participation in the Canadian delegation to the WFDY's conferences aroused considerable controversy both within and outside the SCM.

The WFDY had been formed in London in November, 1945, initiated by the same people who a year later formed the International Union of Students, but intended for all young people, not just students. The SCM was the only Canadian Christian group participating in the WFDY, whose world membership

was mainly of avowedly left-wing groups. The SCM worked against the movement in Canada to set up a Canadian Committee of the WFDY, because it was apparent that except for the SCM no groups wished to take part except extreme left-wing groups, and the SCM recommended instead the setting up of a Canadian Co-ordinating Committee, "around specifically Canadian aims, which in due time might give the answer of Canadian youth generally to the invitations of the WFDY."¹

The issues involved in continued participation in the WFDY are revealed in the report of the National Committee on SCM-WFDY Relations, 1947-48:

The chief event of the year within the WFDY and affecting the SCM was the suspension of one of the secretaries (there were three), Svend Beyer-Pedersen, together with three Scandinavian Youth Organizations for activities alleged to be disruptive of the WFDY. An estimate of the significance of this development and an account of the action which the SCM took in regard to it was contained in a bulletin forwarded to the local units through National Office. This mentioned a letter which was sent to the WFDY Paris office expressing our objection to the unconstitutional manner in which this alleged crisis was handled and asking for a review of the action at the next Council Meeting which will be held in August. Since this suspension, we have heard of the withdrawal of other Scandinavian Youth Organizations who evidently are convinced that the WFDY is no longer a truly international Youth Organization attempting to unite the youth of the world in co-operation for peace, but is a Communist front intent upon pushing the "Communist line." This split within the WFDY reflects the international division into two worlds, with the Liberal and Socialist elements being forced

¹SCM National Council Minutes and Reports, September 4-13, 1947.

to join one camp or the other, and compromising their ideals in the act. If the SCM were simply a political organization we would no doubt have disaffiliated long since; but as a primarily religious organization, with Christian objectives in the first place, and with cultural, social, political and economic ideals only secondly, it may be possible for us to continue affiliation. Our intent would then be to maintain contact with these youth whom the WFDY represents, implement those aspects of WFDY policy which are consistent with our Christian objectives, and make our witness at the conferences of the WFDY in an attempt to provide an expression by the WFDY of Christian Ideals.

As Visser't Hooft suggested in his address to the Westminster Conference, none of the political alternatives today are Christian: neither to support Russian Communism, nor American Capitalism, nor a European Third Force--probably socialistic--nor withdrawal from politics completely. The Christian, as M. M. Thomas put it, makes a fool of himself politically by refusing to compromise his religious objectives, but at the same time, becomes a tragic figure religiously, by insisting upon political judgments which may conflict with those of his fellow-Christians. The SCM, to the Communists, will seem impotent politically because not sufficiently unscrupulous in pursuit of political objectives. To other Christians, of anti-Communist political convictions, the SCM will seem irreligious because it insists upon political co-operation with the Communists. The SCM must work for religious toleration of Communism and political compromises with them. This is a dangerous program because it exposes SCM'ers to the full blast of Communist propaganda; it would weaken a political organization; it should strengthen the SCM by presenting it with a challenge.¹

The feelings for continued participation in the WFDY, despite what were felt to be railroading techniques on its part, were expressed in recommendations by the three-man SCM student delegation after the 1949 WFDY meeting:

¹SCM National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-23, 1948, John Anderson, Chairman, "Report of National Committee on SCM-WFDY Relations, 1947-48."

That the SCM should remain affiliated to the WFDY:

a) On the following conditions:

. . . iv That the role of the SCM in the WFDY be that of a critical minority rather than an unreserved participant in its program. The delegation believes that the SCM can remain affiliated as in agreement with the basis and aims of the WFDY constitution, but disapproves of affiliation based on agreement with the actually practised basis and aims of the WFDY. But as long as we can stay in as a "critical minority," we should do so.

b) For the following reasons:

i The SCM may be able to bridge the gap to some slight extent, between the East and West. The opportunity to send delegates as observers to WFDY and WAY [World Assembly of Youth] should be utilized as long as it remains.

ii We at least have the potentialities of becoming influential when present at WFDY. The hope for evangelizing (presenting Christian ethics and Christ) must not be abandoned as long as we are allowed to attend such gatherings. Communists, like any other human beings, have a claim upon us as Christians, that the Gospel be presented to them. Affiliation probably provides the best mechanism whereby we may meet them as persons.

iii If or when Communist expectations are not fulfilled, the Ideology may slacken in its absoluteness. (If peace continues and it probably will for a few years at least, tactics will have to change to meet possible new situations.) By continuing affiliation, we would then be in a much more advantageous position to present our point of view. (We would then have much more direct leverage by being in the SCM.)

iv By our participation in the Beaver Brigade, we act as a sobering force on the impressions and reports given about Canada. [The Beaver Brigade was composed of a group of Canadian students, some of them avowed Communists, who visited Eastern European countries in the summer.] The participants of the Brigade will know that complete solidarity does not exist, and this will tend towards a more critical analysis of the current Marxist interpretation of Canada and the Eastern European Countries.

v We can meet Communists, Christians and others on the other side of the Iron Curtain, and obtain first-hand information. We can meet WSCF [World's Student Christian Federation] and church leaders and exchange interpretations of Christian Hope and information. We can present to both Communists and Christians a more objective picture of Canada and

the USA than they can find in their press and thus help the cause of world understanding and peace. (The two SCM delegates who, along with Norman Penner and other Canadians met a dozen Russians, achieved a little in this regard.)

vi We become valuable sources of information not only to all areas of the Canadian SCM, but also to such groups as the WSCF, World Council of Churches, and the Canadian Council of Churches.¹

By National Council of 1951, sentiment had changed.

By a vote of twenty-seven for, two opposed, and two abstentions, National Council members voted to disaffiliate from WFDY, seeking the privilege of sending observers to WFDY gatherings. They declared:

The following is a resolution which arose from a discussion at the National Council of the Student Christian Movement of Canada concerning the Movement's present relations with WFDY. The SCM regrets that the following decision has been found necessary and acknowledges with humility its own share in the responsibility for failure to achieve reconciliation in international affairs today.

WHEREAS: at the formation of WFDY in 1945 it was agreed that various points of view of world youth would be considered in making policy; and

WHEREAS: WFDY now represents only one point of view; and

WHEREAS: although the SCM has been accepted in WFDY as a critical minority, its impact on this policy is now negligible; and

WHEREAS: some sections of the SCM feel its affiliation with WFDY has been misunderstood and therefore has had a detrimental effect on the SCM's influence; and

WHEREAS: the SCM's financial resources are limited and could be put to more effective use elsewhere; and

WHEREAS: the SCM can still maintain its contacts with Eastern Europe, USSR, and China: (a) by sending observers to WFDY Congresses, if possible, (b) by participating in

¹SCM National Archives, SCM Delegation's Report on the WFDY Congress, Budapest, September, 1949, by Mary McCrimmon, Don Evans, and David Busby.

Festivals, (c) through CCCYG [Co-ordinating Committee of Canadian Youth Groups] and WSCF, and
WHEREAS: we can no longer discharge our responsibility inherent in affiliation either nationally or internationally; THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT the SCM disaffiliate from WFDY, and the proper authorities be notified immediately, AND FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED THAT disaffiliation from this organization increases the responsibility of SCM members in making a Christian witness among the communists, as individuals, on their local campuses.¹

An elaboration of National Council's position was revealed in a special report:

We assume in this report that it is valid for the SCM to affiliate with non-religious organizations as has been our generally accepted policy in the past. In 1945 we affiliated with WFDY which was formed as an organization within which all points of view of world youth could be expressed, with the exception of Fascists. Since that time, the WFDY has become dominated by Communist policy around which it seeks to unite all youth. A basic principle of WFDY is unanimity in support of this policy.

A. The reasons for our continued affiliation are:

1. Our affiliation with WFDY has stimulated the thinking of our entire membership. It has increased our understanding of the problems existing between the east and the west by making us face the issues squarely. It has helped us to verify our relation as Christians to the world crisis.

2. The delegates who have attended WFDY congresses and festivals have had a unique opportunity to gain insight at first-hand into the new social forces that are at work in Communist countries.

3. Our affiliation with WFDY provides an opportunity to bridge the gap between east and west. It is a demonstration of Christian sincerity that provides a curative for the mass hysteria presently existing throughout the world. It is one step in recreating a mutual trust between the east and west that must be eventually established, if we are to have peace.

4. No one stands outside the need of the gospel--and the tendency to keep the communists outside of the Christian

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May 14-24, 1951, pp. 3-4.

faith can only be counteracted by the witness of Christians who will share in their life.

5. We can present a more adequate picture of Canada and the United States to Eastern Europe than they might otherwise have received. The situation in WFDY now makes it impossible for us to accomplish as much as we would like to, but this situation might well change in the future.

However,

B. We should disaffiliate for the following reasons:

1. There is a question as to whether our affiliation with WFDY is sincere. Since the SCM cannot agree with the decisions of WFDY and is unwilling to share responsibility in these decisions, we have no right to continue our affiliation. If we accept responsibility, we are supporting an ideology with which we are in fundamental disagreement. If we do not accept responsibility, we are not being sincere to WFDY.

2. Some of the reasons advanced in support of continued affiliation, e.g. Nos. 1 and 2, suggest a willingness to use WFDY for our own purposes, and not because it is essentially a good organization for us to work in. This is immoral, and does exactly what we would accuse communists of doing if they were to enter our groups.

3. If we continue to affiliate with WFDY which is an international group, we should also affiliate in the Canadian counterpart (Youth Friendship League) since its purposes coincide with those of the international WFDY. The SCM does not want to do this, since it feels that it has no desire to foster the aims of the Youth Friendship League. Why then should the SCM follow the very opposite policy in the international scene?

4. At the present time our impact on WFDY is negligible. The extent of our participation has been the sending of delegates to festivals and congresses held in Europe. Although occasionally speeches have been made, no alteration of the policy or programme can be made. The speeches are heard, not acted upon. Even the groups which had secretarial staff on the executive of WFDY found it impossible to find in WFDY any concrete expression for their ideas.

5. Since our resources are limited, it would be wiser to concentrate our efforts in the international field through the activities of such organizations as WSCF and ISS [International Student Service] within which we can function positively to remedy these varied conditions

in the world which have caused the strife between the east and west.

6. We can still maintain our contacts with the east by: (a) sending observers to WFDY (if this opportunity is still open to us); (b) by participating in festivals; (c) through CCCYG which has arranged for a youth delegation from Russia to visit Canada; (d) the SCM can still maintain contacts with local Communist groups and participate in CCCYG in which Communist-dominated organizations are represented, and within which organization we can cooperate constructively with communists.

Although this committee recommends that we disaffiliate from WFDY, we would ask the Council to consider the grave implications of such an action. We further ask that we have a period of worship before the Council takes its final vote.¹

The result of the WFDY debate was the resolution of the

1952 National Council:

In view of the decision of National Council 1951 that the withdrawal of the SCM from WFDY was necessary, but that this decision was made in the conviction that the starting point for the reconciliation and mutual understanding between communists and non-communists should be in our own universities as well as on the world level,, which because of its abstract relation to local groups is often unreal, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That each local unit accept the responsibility, perhaps in its first cabinet meeting, for looking seriously at its local campus and community situation, and consider its Christian responsibility in these particular situations; e.g., (a) on a campus where there are communists, what should be our relation to them? (b) on a campus where there are no communists, in what way can the east-west tension be studied to make the issues real in the life of the SCM and of SCM'ers?

2. (a) That each local unit take an active interest in the university LPP group, community or university Peace groups, etc. (b) That each local unit sponsor forums, projects, and other ways of approaching mutual problems;

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May 14-24, 1951, Report on WFDY, pp. 48-9.

e.g. Korea, the economic situation, peace, etc., which would include exponents of different positions, particularly communists. (c) That every unit which has a study group on Communism should not have only leaders who are critical of the communist doctrine, but should try to have leadership from people who believe it and trying to put it into effect; and that each study group should discover what the communists in their local situation are concerned about, and what they are doing, in an attempt to understand why they believe that the communist interpretation is valid.¹

In 1946 the same people involved in the formation of WFDY formed the International Union of Students (IUS). These were representatives of students in those countries that had fought fascism in the Second World War.

The preamble of the IUS constitution states that "The purpose of the IUS, which is founded upon the representative student organizations of different countries shall be to defend the rights and interests of students, to promote improvement in their welfare and standard of education, and to prepare them for their task as democratic citizens." The aims of the IUS were idealistic and democratic, and its membership quite broad, including the national union of students in Britain and other Western countries. A majority, however, was held by members from Communist countries, and as this became apparent in IUS policy, a narrowing process began to take place. National unions such as NFCUS [National Federation of Canadian University Students] which had not yet joined decided not to; and one by one the western unions which had joined earlier disaffiliated, until the only pro-western unions that are now members are the SYL of Finland, the PPMI of Indonesia, and the National Union of Students of the Gold Coast.²

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-25, 1952, pp. 30-31.

²SCM National Archives, "Report to the Student Christian Movement of Canada on Third World Student Congress (IUS), Warsaw 1953, August 27-September 3," by Bill Wilmott and Barbara Grant, p. 1.

The two problems in the question of SCM-IUS relations were whether the SCM itself should send observers to IUS Council Meetings and should hear and study the reports of such observers, and secondly whether individual SCM'ers should take an active interest in NFCUS-IUS relations.

The SCM did not attend IUS Congress or Council meetings as prospective members, but as observers for SCM National Council. Its delegated observers generally felt that a strong criticism to be made of the IUS was its parading of unrepresentative (usually left-wing) small groups from countries whose real "student unions" did not care to associate with IUS, as representatives of those countries.

National Council of 1947 recommended that local units urge through their representative that the NFCUS become affiliated with the IUS. In 1948 National Council adopted the Relationships Committee report which said of the IUS issue:

Affiliation with IUS has been a possibility since 1945 in the eventuality that the SCM had disaffiliated with the WFDY. The specifically student character of IUS may be considered an advantage over the WFDY. If affiliated with the IUS we would cooperate in the Canadian scene with NFCUS, whereas our affiliation with WFDY involves co-operation with NELY (National Federation of Labour Youth). However, the WFDY has the advantage of offering a broader outreach than IUS. Pending clarification of the relationship of the NFCUS to the IUS, we feel we are in no position to make recommendations.¹

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, May 16-23, 1948, "Report of the Committee on Relationships," p. 85.

The SCM continued to send observers in the late forties and through to the mid-1950's. The problems encountered by these observers are exemplified in a letter from the observer in 1950 (Ted Baxter) to the General Secretary (Jim Puxley):

The centre of controversy, as I gather from your letter, is whether or not I spoke as a representative of the SCM. As you see, I did say that I had a credential from the SCM to attend the Congress as an observer, which obviously left the way open for IUS to make whatever use they liked of that statement. I felt that I should let it be known that I was speaking from Christian conviction, and this seemed a good way to introduce that point, yet I did not claim to be representing SCM majority opinion. The official Congress publication listed me as "Ted Baxter (Canadian SCM and Youth Section, Canadian Peace Committee)," but it must have been perfectly obvious that the only message of greeting I read was from the Canadian Peace Congress. According to the strict letter of the law, then, I didn't misrepresent my status, although I didn't take every possible precaution to ensure that it would not be misrepresented. My personal opinion is that I would have been advertised as an SCM'er, regardless of what I said or didn't say, simply because all the IUS people knew that I was. . . . The only way to avoid implicating the SCM at all, as far as I can see, would have been for me not to speak at the Congress. Our delegation felt that I should be the one to give the report, and I honestly feel that if it had been given by some other member of the delegation it would have been a much more outspoken and tendentious report than the one you see now. In other words, I think it was in the interests of international understanding, in spite of the risks involved.¹

Also referred to in this letter were the problems of relating to the NFCUS delegates, and the friction with them:

To tell the truth, I considered the NFCUS report a rather poor effort, even from the point of view of factual information. From the point of view of achieving understanding

¹SCM National Archives, letter, Ted Baxter to Jim Puxley, October 18, 1950.

or co-operation it was no more successful. The good effect of their expressed desire to co-operate with IUS was killed by references to "glossed-over mouthings of political phrases and platitudes." It seems to me that this was a very unfortunate and irresponsible use of an opportunity to speak to the students of the world. This is one of the reasons why I say that my report shows less political bias than theirs.¹

After the 1952 IUS Council in Roumania, the two SCM observers made the following recommendations:

1. We recommend that the SCM of Canada remain in contact with the activities of IUS and WFDY, and continue to send observers to their meetings. Our reasons for this are as follows:

- (a) the necessity for Christians to disassociate themselves from particular social and economic structures, and to be willing to recognize their responsibilities to their fellow men. The political orientation of the IUS is not a valid reason for Christians to refuse to work with and witness to, its members.

- (b) the fact of our particular guilt in relation to the Communist world in as much as they have condemned and corrected wrongs which Christians ignored.

- (c) the value to be derived from such an experience by Canadian Christians such as ourselves; the sudden confrontation with an entirely different way of life served to make us aware of much of the complacency of our own society, and at the same time gave us insights into what is beginning to happen in a society not based on Revelation.

2. We recommend that local SCM units in the Canadian universities work individually and as groups with Communist organizations, trying to understand their positions and their motives, and to witness to them in the most effective way possible.

3. We recommend that the local units take seriously their responsibility in political matters, domestic and international. Our reason for this is the imperative need to emphasize among Christians that the judgment of God falls

¹Ibid.

upon all relations among men, which includes social structure as well as being kind to the men next door. For this reason we further suggest that the local units--

(a) examine the Peace Councils and try to be creative in them.

(b) work with ISS committees and other international organizations.

(c) establish study and discussion groups for the purpose of rethinking the problem of the Christian attitude to social and economic structures and of attempting to discuss how much of most of contemporary Christian thinking is essentially Christian and how much of it derives from bourgeois liberal conditioning.

4. Finally we recommend that the local units confront the problem of Christian community; try by study groups, prayer and general discussion to discover its nature and to begin to build it. By learning about and creating such relationships of love and responsibility, Canadian Christians will, we believe, answer the valid criticisms of the Marxists, and at the same time provide a living criticism of a society which imposes social structure at the expense of responsible personality. We suggest that it is in this area that the most effective witness can be made to all the world.¹

In 1953 the SCM's two accredited observers to the IUS Congress were Barbara Grant and Bill Willmott, whose report to National Council led it to pass the following resolution:

1. Whereas: The IUS has inaugurated a status of Associate Membership, and:
2. Whereas: This status may ameliorate many of the impasses that have hindered IUS-NFCUS relations in the past, and:
3. Whereas: We believe that all men are involved in a brotherhood created by God and exemplified by the life of Jesus, and:
4. Whereas: We believe therefore that the barriers which hinder the full realization of this brotherhood, barriers built through isolation, traditions, and prejudices are contrary to the Will of God, and:

¹SCM National Archives, "Report to the Student Christian Movement of Canada on IUS Council Meeting and Unity Meeting," by Sheila McDonough and Chuck Taylor, 1952.

5. Whereas: It is only through personal contact that we can understand the real areas of difference that create and sustain these barriers, and:
6. Whereas: It is therefore a Christian concern for all men constantly to seek opportunity to keep open the door of contact and confrontation, and:
7. Whereas: NFCUS participation in IUS as an associate member would lead to this personal contact for more Canadian students, and:
8. Whereas: We believe that NFCUS would in this way be placed in a better position in which to assist in the solution of the problems facing the students in the world, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:
That this National Council send a letter to the NFCUS Conference urging the NFCUS to begin negotiations leading to Associate Membership in the IUS and further,
That we urge local SCM units to initiate action to insure a mandate from the student body on this matter which the local NFCUS delegates can carry to the Council.¹

NFCUS Council then resolved:

WHEREAS the IUS has lately given indication of apparent will to negotiate with non-member national student unions by providing them with the possible status of associate membership, and
WHEREAS the NFCUS is desirous of fostering greater national understanding, but
WHEREAS the spirit and activities of the IUS have not fostered an international student community in the past because of its partisan and political approach both to student needs and students in society,
BE IT RESOLVED that NFCUS make no commitments at the present time, but that the executive of NFCUS will be empowered this year to investigate the possibility of qualified relationship with IUS and report their findings to the various student councils before the next conference.²

¹SCM National Archives, "IUS-NFCUS-SCM Background Study Documents," November 26, 1953.

²Ibid.

The reaction of the SCM observers was:

We consider the motions made at National Council to be in accord with our recommendations as put forward by Bill at National Council. We are sorry, as are all those who supported National's resolutions, that the NFCUS Council did not feel able to act more decisively in regard to associate membership in IUS and that it turned down once more the proposed Soviet/Canadian student exchange with inadequate explanation and discussion. But these are not the reasons for the SCM to slack its efforts to carry out recommendations made at National; we can all work hard to arouse interest on the part of the student in the universities during the year, and to encourage NFCUS to act more responsibly next year in regard to associate membership in IUS and the Soviet-Canadian student exchange.

With the new attitude expressed this year by IUS, Canadian students are presented with a real opportunity for communication with students in countries that have till now been comparatively isolated from us. It would be wrong not to use this opportunity for all it is worth to increase contact between students of east and west.

At one level, it is extremely valuable for all concerned to have the possibility of exchanging customs and ideas, and meeting personalities, thus enlarging their circle of acquaintances. Anyone who has been to a conference in Canada would understand what it would mean to have the opportunity of talking to Australians, Roumanians, and Icelanders, learning their ways of life, and their points of view, and above all, simply confronting them as persons.

But contact can also lead, in a very direct way, to the bettering of world understanding. Our travels this summer support our conviction, that personal contact provides a means of creating that understanding and common concern for people which prevents the possibility of fomenting division and strife. It is a two way process in which both parties are affected, and in which both go away with a more profound understanding of others' points of view and increased will to find some solution to the differences and indifferences which keep us apart. Through our contacts with young people this summer, some of whom we talked to during Congress session, around the dinner table, and in their rooms, we got some understanding of the problems of other countries, and, we hope, were able to enlarge their conception and appreciation of Canadian life. We found that the opportunities available to speak to people as

Christians were considerable. Our contacts were not limited to meetings with communists and non-Christians, as we were able to have several worthwhile conversations with Christians from Poland, Germany, China, South Africa and other countries.

When we are faced with a division in the world, a division that is not in accord with our beliefs about the brotherhood of man under God, then we are challenged to do something about that division in whatever way is open to us. With a new attitude on the part of an organization like IUS, new opportunities are opened to us. Everyone is aware that there are risks, both personal and organizational, involved in fostering contacts between east and west. Some will claim that the change in the IUS attitude is not a real change, but only a change of tactics. Whether this is true or not, as things stand at present an opportunity has been further opened and it is our responsibility to take advantage of it as long as it lasts, regardless of risks. This is the belief underlying the proposals made at National, and our own concern that they be implemented.¹

This action on the part of the SCM apparently had a backlash. At McGill, for instance,

1953 saw a sudden flare up of public opinion against the SCM. Rumours were flying on the campus that the communist SCM was plotting to trap the National Federation of Canadian University Students into a dangerous alliance with the IUS. Like other crises, this one passed and the next year's NFCUS accepted a report from Chuck Taylor, the man whose report on the IUS caused the furor the year before.²

In March, 1954, in reviewing the latest developments of the NFCUS relationship to the international scene (it was (a) to take an active role in CoSec [Co-ordinating Secretariat],

¹Ibid., Section Four, Recommendations.

²SCM National Archives, Report on History of the McGill SCM, by Sheila McDonough, July 28, 1955.

which was to become the rival western international union of students objecting to IUS, (b) to meet with the IUS in the summer to discuss differences, (c) to view the Russian student exchange question as a dead issue)--Sheila McDonough wrote:

It is not, I think, in any sense a good thing that SCM units as corporate bodies advocate NFCUS-IUS relations or student exchanges. Those of us who do think the question important can scarcely assume responsibility for committing those SCM members who do not agree with us, or do not clearly understand the issues. The Churches and the SCM will probably be divided and uncertain for a very long time on the question of what to do with the communist half of the world.

All we can do is to act as individuals in explaining our belief and in communicating to our fellow students the seriousness of the problem we all face. We should also remember the unwillingness of Asian and African students to be identified with either a western or an eastern student union; e.g. Indonesia's determination to remain in both CoSec and IUS illustrates the attitude of these students who were recently colonies of the western powers.¹

The 1954 report to SCM by Dave L'Esperance sums up the problem as it developed:

Last year's National Council of the SCM decided to press NFCUS to Associate Membership in IUS. What for? Presumably, to aid the cause of student unity, to demonstrate that we are willing to cooperate in certain things with Communist organizations, to demonstrate that we are not, in North America, completely isolationist. But it is my personal opinion that associate membership is no longer the answer; the problem has grown too big. It is argued in favour of of associate membership that it permits practical cooperation without any political involvement, but it has been shown in the last few years, I think, that practical cooperation is quite possible with no membership at all; the British prior to joining had a considerable amount of cooperation

¹SCM National Archives, statement by Sheila McDonough, received February, circulated March 30, 1954.

with the IUS. They had a large travel programme, reciprocal tours, reciprocal advertisement of each other's summer camps, and so on. Associate membership now for NFCUS would mean simply Western criticism, no greater privileges within the IUS, and the possibility of Eastern exploitation. All of these without attacking the big problem of student unity.

To me the great problem lies in the rapid growth and development of COSEC. True, COSEC is not an official union of students, but reference to the first part of this report will show its growth in the last four years. If COSEC continues to grow, what then? A student world hopelessly divided in two, with no room for international understanding or cooperation. A student Cold War.

What alternative? The only answer is that Western unions must face this fact, and try to make their peace with the IUS. The IUS seems to feel that it has done all it can to appease the West; that is, it has cut out to a large extent procedural tricks which prevent the West from speaking, there is no more anti-west demonstration, and they have instituted the new category of Associate Membership. But these are still not satisfactory to Western unions. But the West still have several (we think) valid criticisms of the IUS. We must succeed in ironing them out with IUS before it is too late and rampant Cold War has set in. How can unions make their peace with IUS? The one possibility seems to be to meet the IUS en bloc and put forward the Western objections saying, "Clean these up and we will scrap COSEC and join with you."

There are three main Western objections to the IUS as it presently stands. The first of these is finance--as is suggested by the debate this year on the budget. It would appear to be fairly obvious that a fair part of IUS funds come in one way or another from the state. But the IUS has never been very clear in the budget as to where exactly the money does come from. The West needs to have the finances house-cleaned from top to bottom.

The second objection lies in the membership and here I quote from the Constitution, concerning membership rights: "Such organizations shall be: (1.) National Unions of students representing the majority of students of the country concerned and fulfilling the terms of the Constitution. (2.) National co-ordinating committees uniting the various sectional, democratic organizations of the country concerned. (3.) One or more student organizations of a country where such a national co-ordinating committee is not practicable

and there are several actively democratic student organizations."

Here the Western point of view is that while there is a national union in existence, whether it be a member of the IUS or not, that it is the only member possible from that country. A good case in point is the Australian set-up. There is, in Australia a national union which is not a member of the IUS. Therefore, the IUS has accepted the Australian Student Labour Federation as a member. The Western agreement is that in view of the numerical order of phrasing of the above section of the Constitution, the ASCF cannot be a member of IUS as long as the National Union is in existence. The IUS argument is that it is perfectly legitimate to choose members from any category, one, two or three, depending on who wants to join, although, the IUS admit that it is always better to have the national union if possible. Their understanding of the problem is that members from different categories cannot simultaneously be members of IUS. That is, were the Australian union to join tomorrow, the IUS would be forced to exclude the ASCF. The reason for the Western view is obvious; the IUS has so far managed to have left-wing groups from various countries present at councils speaking in the names of those countries, although the bulk of the students of the countries involved may be right of centre.

The third problem is a very simple one and involves the headquarters of the IUS which are now in a Communist country. It would be much easier for Western unions if the headquarters were in a neutral country such as one whose export trade consists largely of playing host to international organizations--Switzerland.

These are the minimum requirements for Western union. Could the IUS accept them? I think it is quite possible. There are many people in the IUS who want student unity as much as we do and would accept these criticisms, if a trifle reluctantly, if they saw it was the only choice to unity and if they felt that the West was quite sincere. At this Moscow Council it was suggested that the IUS send people to the next COSEC meeting to discuss differences; although they did not incorporate this idea in any motion it is quite likely they will do so. If they do, we must demonstrate that the West is sincere and willing to go along in good faith. We must show that under certain conditions we are ready to abandon COSEC and participate fully with the IUS. There will be some opposition to this in the ranks of the West itself, but if we ever come to this point we must advance bravely without fear of social consequence. NFCUS is now in the position where, for the sake of student

unity, it must try to bring IUS and COSEC together, it must try to keep COSEC from growing to the point where the student world is hopelessly divided, it must try to bring other unions in COSEC to a more co-operative frame of mind with regards to IUS. The sad fact of the matter is that many COSEC unions are no longer interested in the problem of student unity; there are [sic] quite cynical with regards to IUS and are quite happy to simply sit at home. It is very difficult for NFCUS to fight these things through for two reasons. Firstly, the battle lies not so much in terms of concrete action but in terms of the attitudes of people both in IUS and COSEC; people to whom NFCUS must say, "Let's give it another try because it's the only way out." The other difficulty lies in the greatly weakened solidarity of NFCUS. When I left Canada NFCUS had great internal difficulties; I gather that the situation is the same if not worse now, and this makes it very hard for an organization to present a solid front on the international scene.

What can the SCM do? I am very much afraid that there is no direct recommendation that I can make to the SCM this year with regards to IUS, and the world student situation. I have tried to point out the situation, as I see it, in the simplest terms. I do not think for reasons shewn [sic] above that Associate Membership has any value in the long run. There is no concrete plan burning that I can strongly suggest that the SCM support or struggle against. Further, I am afraid (and would greatly appreciate correction on this point) that the same loss of solidarity that has weakened NFCUS has also affected the SCM. Certainly from this side of the water it seems so.

Therefore I can only ask the SCM to consider, and to attempt to make NFCUS realize that:

1. Student unity and IUS are not remote problems, but ones which affect all of us and which are probably second in importance only to international problems of "grown-up" politics.
2. Unless we want rampant cold war and the student world split down the middle, we must achieve student unity, even though considerable sacrifice be necessary.
3. COSEC represents a threat to student unity, more so every year, as it grows both in size and in cynicism regarding the intentions of the IUS.
4. It is worth supposing that the IUS today is willing to make it possible for Western unions to join.

I realize that I can in these recommendations be accused of the same vagueness of which I accuse the IUS, but I can see little else in the present state of SCM and NFCUS. All I can suggest is that the SCM consider the various arguments, decide, and try to influence NFCUS wherever possible.

Of course, even if the day comes that most of the Western unions are voting members of IUS, it does not mean that hostilities will cease; on the contrary, they will perhaps be more plentiful than ever. But I suggest that it is far better to fight these things out within the framework of one organization than to glower at each other from across a student iron curtain.

Note for Christians

What I am now about to say is almost trite these days, and can be summed up thus: even Communists are human. My experience this summer suggests that most young Communists today inside the iron curtain are very sincere young people, trying to do the best they can according to their lights. I think it is very important to make a nice distinction between disapproving of their politics and philosophy, and allowing ourselves to fall into the position of hating them for themselves as most Western propaganda would have us do. I feel from the summer that it is a mistake to regard them as scheming, power-hungry beasts. I would go further and suggest that it is even dangerous to point too strongly to some of their remarkable atrocities--which, by the way, they will usually admit to--without considering our own record. They will usually explain these atrocities as being politically and historically necessary, much as we explain Hiroshima. I feel very strongly that while we recognize Eastern propaganda because its subject matter is foreign to us, we often fail to see how strongly we are propagandized ourselves. Perhaps it would be profitable for the SCM to have a study group some time on propaganda and the morality of same.¹

Documentation becomes sparser on the subject, but it is evident that from 1955 to 1958, at least, the SCM maintained its relationship with IUS--of sending observers to its congresses and councils.² The philosophy "Christian concern

¹SCM National Archives, "Report of SCM Observer at Moscow Meeting of the International Union of Students, by Dave 1'Esperance, November, 1954.

²National Council Minutes and Reports, 1955 to 1958.

for all men constantly to seek opportunity to keep open the door of contact and confrontation" prevailed.¹

The National Council report changed its attitude on the best NFCUS relationship; while in the past the SCM had thought at least associate membership would be worthwhile in keeping open possibilities of contact with students from Communist countries, it now seemed that "in recent months possibilities of contact by other means had become available," and a resolution was passed:

- that NFCUS be urged to take every possible initiative to ensure practical co-operation with the IUS leading to further contacts between students of Canada and those of Communist countries. These initiatives should take precedence over any concern for NFCUS membership in IUS.
- that SCM'ers make every attempt possible to implement this policy (NFCUS-IUS) at the local level, with the local NFCUS Committee.²

The Council also pointed out that in sending visitors to IUS Council and Congress meetings it was not claiming to represent Canadian student opinion nor that it had the right to speak of behalf of all Canadian students. Its delegation to such meetings was to be considered to have a lower official status than that of the NFCUS delegation. In all cases NFCUS was to be notified of the SCM's intention to send a delegation and if possible arrangements were to be made for the two delegations

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 11-16, 1955, p. 7.

²Ibid.

to meet prior to the Council or Congress. The 1956, 1957, and 1958 statements expressed the same policy.¹

There is no further documentation on the subject until the 1963 National Council resolution:

WHEREAS the international student movement is of a great significance to SCM'ers as students and as world citizens, and WHEREAS international student politics reflect world politics, thereby effecting a serious split in the student world, and WHEREAS student activities lead to activities in the wider political world,

BE IT RESOLVED that the SCM study the developments which are taking place in the student world and take part as actively as possible by

- 1) continuing to subscribe to the World Student News and circulating this magazine widely.
- 2) sending observers to any IUS activities--seminars, conferences, and to the next World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Freedom.
- 3) studying the report of the recent consultation between IUS and WSCF held in Geneva Aug. 31-Sept. 3 and noting all examples of co-operation of the two organizations.
- 4) evaluating the work of ISC-COSEC (the organization to which NFCUS belongs) and participating and giving suggestions on National level by our relationship to National NFCUS and on local level by personal association as individuals.
- 5) sending a representative to attend as an observer the whole of the NFCUS Congress being held in Edmonton this fall.

AND WHEREAS the international student organizations, the International Union of Students and the International Student Conference reflect the split in the "cold war," and WHEREAS Canadian students through NFCUS have chosen to belong only to ISC but have no real contact with IUS,
BE IT RESOLVED

- 1) that a study group be established in one of the local units to study the origin and history of the two organizations, present developments between the two, and the position of the WSCF in relation to both. . . .

AND WHEREAS the direct involvement of all Canadian SCM'ers in the international student world is through the NFCUS,

¹ National Council Minutes and Reports, 1956-1958.

BE IT RESOLVED that the SCM seek the participation and cooperation of the NFCUS in this study.¹

The relationship between IUS and SCM, then, was on a yearly basis through international congresses and councils. It was carried out by observer student representatives directly to IUS from SCM, who were appointed by SCM National Council, and indirectly through NFCUS, in whose local units SCM'ers were encouraged to participate. The relationship significantly reflected the SCM's openness and eagerness to bridge diversity even from the militant left, in its ideology.

Some detail has been used in describing the SCM's relationships with WFDY and the IUS because of the further elaboration it gives of the SCM's ideology, and the concern it shows for the effects on the politics of national units of government. More longstanding has been the international connection to the World's Student Christian Federation (WSCF), the parent organization of Student Christian Movements all over the world. Founded in 1895, the WSCF recognized the Canadian SCM when it formed as a university group independent of the YMCA-YWCA groups which had previously looked after its constituency. It has been important to SCM staff and student leaders for the links--

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 2-12, 1963, "Current Issues," pp. G8-G9.

material and spiritual--which it has maintained with other national groups, through councils, executive meetings, and conferences, its publications (Student World and Federation News), projects like the Ecumenical Assistance Program (to developing nations) and its predecessors, international work camps, "Federation visitors," Universal Day of Prayer, and general program thrust. The Canadian SCM has on occasion had difficulties at WSCF functions because of the SCM's emphasis on the importance of having a student-run movement and because of the strong element in the Canadian SCM insisting on full participation by non-Christians committed to the Movement.

Within Canada those charged with responsibility for WSCF contacts--delegates to conferences and members of the Canadian WSCF commission reporting to National Council--were frequently disturbed about the lack of awareness of the Federation amongst SCM'ers and the lack of feeling of responsibility for its finances.¹

National Council reports throw some light on the stimulation provided by the WSCF, though this documentation is only from 1940 on and becomes repetitive in its stress on the need for increasing awareness, helping with finances, and viewing the link in a missionary sense.

For example, the December, 1942, Council was urged to

¹These observations, confirmed by Gerald Hutchinson (interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972), are based on the writer's knowledge from personal participation in the SCM.

have its local units report from discussion groups to national office on the following list of questions on which the opinion of student groups in various countries was being sought by the Federation:

- What should be the future relationships of countries in Asia and Africa to the so-called western countries?
- What is the significance of the "four freedoms" in the total world situation?
- How can constructive relationships between the USSR and other nations be assured? What is the part of Christians in this matter?
- What are the basic convictions about the nature of a future world order which Christians hold in common? How can we find these in our study of the Bible, and state them clearly?
- What should be the function of the university in the post war world? How can Christian individuals and movements within the university be related to this function?¹

1943 National Council reflected on the "Implications of the Principles of the WSCF":

1. Racial Issues: We recommend that racial issues with regard to French Canadian, Japanese, Jewish and other groups be given special consideration by local units.
2. General Policy on Racial Issues: We recommend (a) that students concerned be taken into the SCM fellowship wherever possible; (b) that a definite stand be taken with regard to discrimination on the campus; (c) that the Commission on Study provide material, taking into special consideration the problem of racial issues in a student community; (d) that local units notify other units as to the movements of students of the races mentioned above. Finally, the Commission recommends that the members of our national movement bear in mind that the first request to come to the Federation from a group which is making plans for relief was a request

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, December, 1942, "WSCF," p. 9.

not for material aid in the first instance, but for prayer. We might invent the machinery, secure the people and raise the funds for reconstruction, and yet fail, fail most lamentably. What matters supremely is that we should be endowed with spiritual power. We are not concerned simply with the rebuilding of organizations, but with the cause of Christ among the students of the world. It is not merely a case of healing the ravages of war, but of rising to the height of an opportunity such as is given to few generations.¹

The Commission was also very concerned with planning the reconstruction program of the WSCF after the war, raising money and carrying out an educational program for the WSCF.

By 1965 the overt religious conviction of earlier SCM'ers dealing with the WSCF was clearly repudiated. The report on World Mission of the 1965 National Council recommended:

WHEREAS

The third Sunday in February each year is observed by SCM's in many countries as a Universal Day of Prayer for Students, and it is necessary for us to recognize that many Canadian students no longer find the traditional forms of religious observances viable, and the experiments in reflection in the worship services at National Study Conference 1965 have indicated some of the new possibilities which could be explored,

WE RECOMMEND THAT

1. Local units arrange, in conjunction with the Universal Day of Prayer for Students, an opportunity for those who feel that prayer has no significance for themselves to reflect together on common international problems of concern to students.
2. (a) That the Bulletin covers and Call to Prayer of the WSCF be circulated to the units for information.
(b) That suggestions for creative publicity, speaking to

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 15-21, 1943, "Report of the Commission on the WSCF," p. 2.

the Canadian situation, be sent to each local unit in January of each year to arouse awareness of this event.¹

1968 is seen as a key year in the life of the WSCF and therefore the SCM's relation to it.

On the WSCF General Assembly, 1968, it was written:

Since SCM's and the WSCF were part of the student milieu, it is hardly surprising that they too were undergoing transformation and crisis during the 1960's. In many countries, the traditional constituency of SCM's was shrinking as a result of the transformed student milieu. The crisis of the SCM's also reflected the political and theological crises of the church, itself a result of the rapid transformations of society and consciousness. Since both the SCM's and the WSCF were products of a type of student milieu and consciousness characteristic of the pre-1960 period, they too had to be transformed if they were to remain authentic participants in the new student milieu. The assumption of this challenge to self-transformation produced the new directions adopted by the General Assembly in 1968.

These new directions can be summarized briefly, before indicating how they were spelled out in structural and programmatic changes in the WSCF.

A. The political character of the context in which we work, think and play was explicitly recognized: both seen to be shaped by the political and economic systems that now mould people and the world according to their own imperatives.

B. If problems of the university are inseparable from society, then some of the work of the WSCF must be to bring together both university and non-university constituencies to work on common issues.

C. The political and theological crisis of the church meant that the WSCF had to risk moving beyond the political and theological parameters of the church.

The consequence of these fundamental options has been the development of the so-called "constituency question" in the WSCF: for whom do we exist? with whom do we work?

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 6-16, 1965, "World Mission," (Commission Report), p. H-2.

If the character of the university is such that change cannot be brought about it in isolation from the rest of society, if the institutional church and its practices no longer exclusively define "Christian practice," and if your traditional constituency is shrinking in any event, then what are the criteria for whom the WSCF is to work with? The "constituency question" affects all regions of the WSCF, as it must, because it is a reflection of the social, political and theological crisis we are living through.

The 1968 General Assembly embodied these new directions in a number of structural and programmatic changes:

1) Structural Changes:

-as a response to the new sensitivity to the dangers of western domination of world organizations, the Assembly opted for regionalization, which gave control over programming and decision-making which affected a region to the region itself. WSCF regional staff now operate out of regional bases, instead of Geneva.

-as a response to the new sensitivity to the importance of democratic decision-making structures, a number of changes in the direction of democratization were taken, to minimize the structural tendency towards bureaucratized, centralized decision-making in large organizations such as the WSCF, and increase the possibilities for initiative and control from the base.

2) Programmatic Changes:

-regionalization meant that most WSCF programmes would be initiated and controlled by such region. "International" programming was seen primarily as a communications problem; how to enable ongoing regional/local work to be enriched and developed by experiences in other regional/local contexts. Part of the answer was formulated in the development of a new political communications team in Geneva: Question and the Documentation Series are examples of the printed work of this team, while the consultation of radical research groups in Boston and the team's participation in regional programmes, such as the leadership training session in Latin America which produced the special number of Question on Chile, are examples of direct forms of communication which the Assembly recommended in 1968.¹

¹SCM National Archives, John Huot, "Canada and the WSCF."

Generally speaking, the influence of the relationship to the WSCF has not been felt at the local unit level, but only by national secretaries and a select number of delegates to international conventions. The issues which involvement brought did not arouse controversies locally, as did, for example, WFDY affiliation. Nor did they have local parallels--that is, there was no local branch of the group in question to which representatives had to be sent, joint sponsorship of programs discussed, etc., as with many other groups.

The significance of the contact is revealed in struggles over ideology at international councils--about the "openness" of the Canadian SCM in contrast with the more traditional, and less secular, Christian emphasis of the WSCF's ideology until very recently, and on the question of the SCM's insistence on the need for a student-run movement as against the WSCF's traditional domination by a clique of "youth worker" types, in the eyes of some critical Canadian SCM'ers.¹

The Student Volunteer Movement was the "missionary" wing of the SCM for many years and as well was one of the SCM's forefathers. It was

committed to the study of Foreign Missions with the express goal of stimulating and encouraging students to offer themselves as missionaries . . . [and] committed solidly to the perspective of striving toward the goal of ushering

¹These observations, confirmed by Gerald Hutchinson (interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972), are based on the writer's knowledge from personal participation in the SCM.

in the Kingdom of God. [Its] perspective was very much in keeping with that of Theological Liberalism.¹

Its slogan was "the evangelization of the world in this generation." It held quadrennial conferences (North American, with large representations of foreign students) which were sources of inspiration to many SCM'ers. It lasted until the late 1930's, when its functions in Canada were taken over by the Missionary Committee of the SCM.²

Groups with local, national, and international units to which the SCM has been related are the YMCA-YWCA, World University Service, and the Canadian University Service Overseas.

The Y's and the SCM, at the time that the SCM became an independent student-run movement no longer under Y tutelage (1920), came to an understanding that the university field would be left to the Y's. Some elements have wanted to change this arrangement, but it has withstood the test of time. There has been some financial interlocking and exchange of representatives, with occasional special consultations, but the relationship except in the early years when SCM'ers were more conscious of their link to the Y tradition, does not seem significantly to have affected the life of the movement.

¹Paris, "Study Life of the Movement 1921-1965," p. 3.

²Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

Another group with both national and international activities of interest to the SCM is the World University Service. SCM'ers and the SCM were involved both individually and collectively in its conferences and service activities. Some of the same questions involved in SCM's relationship with WFDY and IUS and COSEC were involved here: preventing WUS becoming "an instrument in the power conflict of the world as it is reflected in the conflict in student politics between IUS and COSEC."¹

The significance of the SCM's relationship to WUS is that it reflects the "internationalist" and "service" aspects of the SCM's ideology. It is a continuation of the tradition of the service to students in other countries through European Student Relief and International Student Service operations during and after the world wars.

The Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) has also involved the SCM and SCM'ers. The World Mission Secretary in 1961-62, Don Wilson, played a major role in its establishment. Local units usually have a representative responsible for working with CUSO, and the SCM's "blitz" (intensive weekends, for example) world service seminars from time to time at the local level

¹SCM National Archives, letter, Philippe Maury, General Secretary, WSCF, to Professor Tom Barnett, Wycliffe College, Toronto, March 16, 1959.

involve it in close cooperation with CUSO. Similarly, International Club and FROS (Friendly Relations with Overseas Students) are often peopled with SCM'ers, again reflecting the SCM's international and service concerns.¹

We move now to groups with which the relationship was on the local and/or national level.

As was shown in Chapter III, the SCM has frequently been involved in the peace movement. One Canadian expression of the peace movement was the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) in the mid 1960's, growing out of the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. 1963 National Council of the SCM urged local branches to support the CUCND organization on their campus, through active individual participation. To both these groups the SCM was closely linked through common members, or members who went from one group back to the other, dissatisfied with each or both groups' attempts. For some SUPA members there was an attraction to SCM just because of the SCM's organizational framework which they saw could be useful to them; others were ex-SCM'ers who later returned to the SCM feeling the need for a deeper and theological view of things which they did not find in SUPA.² Of SCM in relation

¹Wilson, interview, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

²Caloren, interview, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

to SUPA, one local general secretary wrote:

SUPA incorporates some characteristics which have been profoundly basic to SCM--spontaneous outspoken protest at social ills, involvement in attempting to understand in depth what it means to be a student in the contemporary mass university; flexibility and freedom to respond creatively to new situations; serious critique of institutions with no-holds-barred. Too flattering a view of a small group of naive idealists? I think not. Not anymore than the same kind of description could be given to SCM from time to time. I think in the area of groups like SUPA we have to face seriously the fact that some of those best suited for SCM (i.e., those who under other circumstances would likely find their way into the SCM core) are deeply committed to SUPA, or Friends of SNCC [Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee] or some other similar, and regard SCM as a group of rather slothful (if friendly and intelligent) philosophers, who are more committed to dialogue and ecumenicity (as the term is so often wrongly used to mean all-Christian) rather than, quite simply, to the world, for only in such terms can commitment [sic] to studentship, to the university, be understood and accepted.¹

But another senior SCM'er saw SUPA in a different light--as men of concern who had withdrawn from society.

SUPA . . . seems often to try to unfit people for society. . . . SCM's goal must be to fit people in a positive way for a constructive and healthy life in the City, as autonomous, sovereign individuals capable of coping with the pressure of pluralism and secularization without retreat into the "group."

. . . Openness, properly, is to the World at large, not just to each other, and while we are bound to be sympathetic to SUPA, its goals, its methods, and its developing style, I think our [SCM] vocation is to be more secular than they,

¹SCM National Archives, letter, Clarke Deller, General Secretary of the SCM at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, to Dr. Roy G. DeMarsh, Board of Colleges and Secondary Schools, United Church of Canada (who had just resigned as General Secretary of the SCM of Canada), April 22, 1965.

who have a sort of religious style.

. . . If it is the tendency of SUPA (the Neo-Left) to react to pessimism by becoming more radical, world-renouncing and (?) apocalyptic (?), it is the SCM style [to] adopt pessimism into our fabric under the guise of "not taking oneself too seriously"; we have learnt something from our succession of causes, a sort of absurbe or existential stance which should not be hastily thrown away for the latest radical fad; as many of us have learnt how to be "Christian agnostics"--or "agnostic Christians"--we must also learn to be both committed and relativistic, like Kierkegaard's Abraham existing in a state of absolute contradiction between conviction and expectation. Our commitment must not be causes or standards but to people and ideals; the ideal is that of the mature cosmopolitan, the Pauline "all things to all men."¹

These discussions, while giving only two particular viewpoints, are illustrative of the function that the relationship with SUPA played--stimulating thought on the ideology and style of operation of the SCM itself as well as the role individual SCM'ers should take on issues SUPA raised. It was part of the "navel-gazing" period of the SCM (mid-sixties), and whether the exodus of SCM'ers into SUPA was cause or effect is open to question. In any case the relationship was a particularly provocative one, raising questions--should the movement withdraw from areas of concern being "covered" by other emerging groups, or should it continue its immensely broad undertakings? Does SCM's "openness" facilitate dialogue

¹SCM National Archives, Fletcher Stewart (Chairman, Study, Conferences and Publications Committee), "Constitutional Committee--Draft Sub-Committee--Reflections on SCM, SUPA, Chaplains, and the World," November 12, 1965.

or render it directionless and meaningless?

SCM'ers were also at other times involved in organs of the peace movement--the Church Peace Mission centred in Toronto (at least in the late 1950's), for example. What attitude to take toward the Canadian Peace Congress was an issue which the 1950 Political Commission of the SCM National Council could not agree on--one viewpoint being that the reputation or the labels of the influential membership of these groups should not be considered so much as what those organizations do--that "Peace Councils" might be the most adequate meeting grounds for differing opinions to find a common basis for action towards peace.¹

The relationship between the SCM and the National Federation of Canadian University Students (NFCUS) at the national level has already been mentioned in the discussion of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and International Union of Students. Co-operation over the years on the local level between NFCUS and the SCM was common in programming. The campaign for study and action against racial injustice in South Africa, and study and action projects related to Canada's native peoples and discrimination in housing against foreign students are examples. When NFCUS disbanded in 1964 and the Canadian Union of Students emerged as a more radical group, the SCM was in

¹SCM National Archives, Report of the Political Commission at 1950 National Council, mimeograph.

the beginnings of its own severe internal troubles, but maintained official contact and seems also to have seen some of its numbers become active in the Canadian Union of Students.

The Canadian Student Assembly became a rival to the National Federation of Canadian University Students at one point in the development of Canadian student organizations. It originated in the 1937 Winnipeg conference of students, called by the SCM. It was a "progressive movement" (according to the University of Toronto Varsity) whose purposes came to be enunciated as:

1. To investigate educational standards and facilities in Canada and to draw attention to needed reforms.
2. To study problems of national co-operation with special attention to Dominion-Provincial relations in general, Anglo-French relations in particular.
3. To study problems of practical democratic citizenship.¹

The CSA eventually met its demise, in the early 1940's, partly because of criticism it received as "anti-British and anti-war" and partly because of the dilemma of two national student organizations (NFCUS and CSA).²

In any case the 1939 SCM National Council expressed support for the CSA:

Inasmuch as the National Council recognizes the need for maintaining and extending democracy within the university community, and further recognizes that these interests

¹Moirra Hutchinson, "The National Federation of Canadian University Students" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1968), pp. 12-13 of draft.

²Ibid.

can be strengthened by the existence of a representative assembly of students, we recommend to our local units--

- (1) that they participate through their membership in local Assemblies of the CSA, where such exist as fully representative assemblies; and
- (2) that they cooperate with other student clubs to establish such assemblies in those universities where they do not now exist;
- (3) that we urge the Canadian Student Assembly to direct its attention to further cooperation with local Student Councils; and where advisable, to broadening the democratic basis of those Councils.¹

The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order was another national group, originating in the early 1930's and petering out in the mid-1940's, with which the SCM had close links-- more through individuals who were key to both groups than "institutionally." Many conference speakers upon whom the SCM called, for example, were members of the FCSO, which seemed a natural "graduate group" for many SCM'ers coming out of the universities. Gregory Vlastos, J. King Gordon, and Martyn Estall are examples of men whose commitment was given to both groups. This fellowship of Christian Socialists worked primarily through the churches in seeking to initiate change, in comparison with the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR), which was a similar but non-theological sort of grouping.²

The SCM also maintained relationships with other groups--

¹National Council Minutes and Reports, September 8,9, 10, 11, 18, 19 and 20, 1939, p. 8.

²Roger Hutchinson, conversation, Toronto, various dates between summer of 1970 and Christmas of 1971.

the Co-ordinating Committee of Canadian Youth Groups (bringing together Canadian youth groups on a national level in matters of mutual interest), the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO, the Co-operative Committee on Japanese-Canadians, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the Canadian Citizenship Council, Religion Labour Council of Canada, the United Nations Association of Canada, and others.

Feelings about relationships with the churches have always been ambivalent. There is a desire for smooth relations on one hand, partly because of the churches' important place in the financial support of the SCM and partly because some SCM'ers themselves were committed churchmen, amongst other reasons. But there is a definite uneasiness on the other hand, against letting the hand that pays the piper call the tune, against the perceived conservatism of much of the established church, and against the emotional bonds that still tied many SCM'ers who liked to consider themselves "liberated" from the church at least, or even from Christianity.

The sort of thinking the SCM was afraid of (in many quarters, at least) is exemplified in the 1946 Record of Proceedings of the United Church Executive of the General Council:

The Executive adopted the following recommendations of a Committee appointed by the Sub-Executive of General

Council to study the relationship of the Student Christian Movement to the Church:

1. That the SCM programme, which now provides a place for the study of the Bible and Christian doctrine, and for concern in and witness about the social teachings of the Gospel, be further strengthened by the inclusion of more worship services, devotional studies and prayer, and, above all, by greater knowledge of and efforts in personal evangelism. University Christian Missions are commended as one proven method in attaining their objectives.
2. That the SCM, both for the good of its own work and as a challenge to near-by congregations, should seek a closer liaison with neighbouring ministers and leaders of youth. The SCM should regard itself as part of the larger Christian body and therefore share in common congregational tasks and thus give reality to what is implicit in its group discussion and related programmes. Christian service internship especially among the disinherited and unfortunate will reward both helpers and helped.
3. That, while recognizing that students on graduation may do good work, the SCM include in most of its staffs at least one member who has served, for a few years in established church women's work, in the pastorate, or in a chaplaincy service.
4. That in accordance with recommendation 3 the SCM and the United Church decide upon an orderly plan of selecting and appointing our communion's share of full time personnel, and further, that persons thus appointed have their SCM services credited to their ministerial or other professional records.
5. That the policy of inter-church responsibility for religious work in universities be determined and kept under review by the Canadian Council of Churches and that, beginning with small grants, the churches give regular and increasing aid to the SCM; and further, that the financial support of local SCM work be commended to our church people in neighbouring congregations.
6. That, without endangering the established and proven value of student control, the Canadian Council of Churches' plan for church representation be adopted with two provisos, first, that each communion nominate its own representative; and second, that the Churches' quota of representatives be increased to at least four.
7. That the United Church suggest to the Student Christian Movement: that the function of the Missionary Committee be enlarged to include: (a) education in the whole mission of the Church in Canada and throughout the world, and

(b) the enlistment of men and women for the ministry and for full time service in all phases of the work of the Church in Canada and Overseas.

8. That the name of the Missionary Committee be changed to denote its enlarged functions to some such name as "Church and Missions Committee," "The Church-Mission Committee," and that the Committee continue to have the full-time service of one secretary.

9. That the representation from the Churches in the Missionary Committee be also modified to include, in addition to Overseas Missions, other Boards or Committees concerned with enlistment for full-time service in the Church.

10. That the Missionary Committee receive full co-operation and support from the Churches in order that it may not only enlist volunteers for the work of the Church, but give generations of students a consciousness of the World Church, and a loyalty to its enterprises.¹

The recognition of the SCM by the Canadian Council of Churches as "an agency of the churches in the university" was also both a cause of pride and dismay. The pride was for the useful role the SCM played in the ecumenical movement. For example, "at all the great ecumenical conferences the vast proportion of leaders were men and women who had first learned to know and trust one another within the fellowship of the Student Christian Movement and the World's Student Christian Federation."² The dismay was felt because many of the churches' concerns seemed to SCM'ers to be irrelevant to important issues

¹United Church of Canada, Year Book: 1946 (The Executive of the General Council: Digest of Minutes), Toronto, pp. 20-21.

²SCM National Archives, "Suggestions for a Commission on Ecumenism," prepared by Margaret Prang, Associate General Secretary, SCM of Canada, p. 194.

of the day. For example:

Many students are deeply interested in that dimension of the ecumenical movement which relates theology and the church to the needs of the world, and which recognizes the goodness of true secularity. They are often not so much interested in the ecumenical aspect which focuses on dialogue or cooperation between denominational representatives. It follows that there is increasing concern within the Student Christian Movement for the university in its radically secular character. This trend, it appears, is not limited in any way to Canada and is related to the discovery which the churches in the ecumenical movement are making that the basic ecumenical concern is for the relationship between the church and the world.

One immediate application of particular interest to this Biennial Meeting is that our National Council, September 1964, was eager to agree that the Church and University Committee, which has been organically related to the Student Christian Movement, should now become autonomous. A reorganization meeting for an autonomous body to be formed equally representative of a dozen or more churches and agencies concerned with Christian presence in the university was held at the end of October. Unquestionably part of the readiness with which this decision was made reflects student disillusionment with much talking about the task of the Christian community in the university but all too little accomplishment in terms of common programme which is any way authentically related to the university's life. Much of the time of the committee thus far has been devoted to consultation. Little co-operative programme has yet emerged and even less sense of the unity of a Christian community which includes all in each place.¹

The contacts between the churches and the SCM were many—
in exchange of representatives with the Canadian Council of
Churches and separate denominations at the national level,

¹SCM National Archives, "Canadian Council of Churches' Biennial Meeting, November 16-19, 1964, Report from the Student Christian Movement of Canada."

in church representatives sitting on local Advisory Boards, in joint programme planning with denominational chaplains (when they came on the scene in the last decade or two), in appeals by the SCM to local congregations and ladies' groups as well as from national office to national office for financial support, and in special consultations.

The significance of the relationship with the churches was seen differently by different people. At times because of these connections, old SCM'ers and staff became concerned that the Movement was too "churchy"--that it was in danger of frightening off any student who was not a committed Christian.

The most disquieting tendency the Movement has evidenced to me lately is its close identification with the organized church. The real genius of the Movement has been, I think, its complete freedom¹ from domination from the orthodox Christian position.

On the other hand, the SCM has often been under fire from the other side as well--with questions as to whether the SCM does not ever study or discuss Christian faith. It was sometimes alleged (as in the report of "The Commission on the Church and the University" in 1960) that the SCM could not offer "all the elements of pastoral care" and that the SCM could not alone "reach large numbers of students unless its present staff

¹SCM National Archives, letter, signature page missing but letter is obviously from old SCM'er, June 12, 1950.

is greatly expanded"; one reply was that "you cannot employ staff when you cannot hire, and you cannot hire without money, and that in many local churches readiness to give or to increase grants to the SCM has hitherto been found very slight."¹

In the face of a proposal by the Canadian Council of Churches for a new structure for the universities, the SCM submitted its price:

openness, anything else is foreign to a university; and student initiative and responsibility. We believe that mission finally must take place from a position of some substantial unity, so that these critical students have no basis for saying--"Don't give us your message of reconciliation unless you are reconciled."²

SCM's church relationships were practically exclusively with the "mainline" Protestant denominations--United Church, Anglican, Presbyterian (although many SCM'ers felt themselves to be "kindred spirits" to Quakers and Unitarians). They felt no affinity to the evangelical and fundamentalist Protestant denominations. There were in addition some overtures to Roman Catholic groups, with an interested response occasionally by individuals or for joint programming.³

¹SCM National Archives, report on "The Commission on the Church and the University" (of the Canadian Council of Churches), by Professor R. Glover.

²SCM National Archives, "Student Christian Movement of Canada: Address by the General Secretary At the Biennial Meeting of the Canadian Council of Churches; St. Catharines, Ontario, Nov. 1960."

³Conversations with SCM'ers of various eras.

Reflecting a difference of viewpoint similar to that indicated by the lack of contact with the fundamentalist churches has been the historical tension with the Inter-varsity Christian Fellowship, sometimes breaking out in open conflict. The SCM disagreed with the policy of having, as well as the substance of, the IVCF's doctrinal statement, supported the World Council of Churches in contrast to the IVCF's condemnation of it as a dangerous liberal organization, and viewed the IVCF as an other-worldly oriented group unconcerned with the important secular issues SCM'ers were aroused about as an expression of their particular convictions.¹

Although they may have occasionally questioned the SCM's place in the group complex because of the time its activities consumed, SCM leaders and student activists generally regarded that place as an important expression of the SCM ideology—of openness, of community, and of mission. Those groups which were not "kindred spirit" in outlook—like the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, and the Inter-varsity Christian Fellowship, caused the SCM to articulate its ideology in the ensuing controversies within and outside its ranks. That the SCM could support Friendly Relations with Overseas Students, Canadian University Service Overseas, and the Canadian Student Assembly, for

¹These statements are based on a number of sources, including personal observation, and confirmed by Hutchinson, interview, Edmonton, May 16, 1972.

example, seemed on the other hand to have been accepted with little question. But even with relationships with the groups that caused some controversy for the SCM, the principle of reconciliation through dialogue rather than the fear of tainting through association, seemed to win out. In Chapter I the proposition by Cupps which is relevant here was put forth in this dissertation to say that if the SCM's ideology is not one of pragmatism, it will strive to align with those groups that share its ideological beliefs and be more ready to reject aid offered by groups that do not. Chapters II and III have shown the SCM's ideology to be other than pragmatic; there is no evidence from the SCM case to support Cupps' proposition--the SCM has been quite ready to work with groups that did not share its ideological beliefs.

The SCM, as a pressure group, then, works through a group complex. The significance of this in terms of pressure group activity will be discussed in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, two major problems must be dealt with. First, what does our evidence show about the hypothesis, "As a pressure group, the Student Christian Movement of Canada will have an ideology, seek access to decision-makers in the political system, and work through a group complex." Secondly, "so what?"

To meet our definition of ideology, it has been shown that the SCM expresses "general ideas potent in specific situations of conduct: political ideals, values specifying a given set of preferences, beliefs governing particular modes of thought."¹ It has been shown that the SCM had such ideals, values and beliefs--amounting to ideas prescribing conduct in specific situations.

The first set of ideas that the SCM had represented the ideology of the Social Gospel. These ideas were socialist, evolutionary, and rationalist. In the mid-20's to the late 1920's these ideas were juxtaposed with the sense of need for community through which the ideas might be worked out.

¹Above, p. 10.

While SCM'ers in this brief period were (like their descendants in the mid-1960's) somewhat inclined toward "privatism," the movement still harboured a concern for the "national life" expressed in the search for an ideology for group living.

This concern was to develop into a full-blown ideology of "Radical Christianity" in the 1930's--a belief that "the preservation of democracy depends upon bringing under control the forces of economic anarchy and the power of the financial and industrial oligarchy exercised without reference to the social well-being of the mass of the people" and the ideal of "the socialization of the basic means of production and the co-operative organization of economic life to take full advantage of the material abundance made possible by technological advance."¹ The values behind these beliefs and ideals were Christian or Marxist.

That these "general ideas" were potent in specific situations of conduct, meeting the criteria of our definition of ideology, is evidenced by statements and actions on several issues. Concern with the peace issue was expressed in the Canadian Student and through conference and National Council proceedings, and in an SCM-initiated petition to Prime Minister

¹Above, p. 55.

R. B. Bennett. The Social Gospel period also saw its concern for national community translated in the issue of French Canadians' rights and role. In the 1920's and 1930's the SCM was also sympathetic to labour, through study groups and resolutions, concluding that the church ought to recognize the right of labour to organize and to bargain collectively, and the church must do everything in its power should government action fail to promote mediation between employee and employer. The SCM's ideology was also translated through international issues in the Social Gospel period--through action in the World's Student Christian Federation and relief organizations, and study and statements on China and Japan, and the European crisis.

Thus began a tradition which was never really to die--of radical politics and progressive theology pursued by a group which was always concerned about human community, with the focus shifting back and forth from internal group life concerns to action for the well-being of the "outside" community.

In the period of the 1940's the ideology of neo-orthodoxy emerged. Its struggle for predomance over a strong political and anti-church element tempered its vehemence, in fact helped emphasize that the "radical consciousness" was "arising, not in reaction to orthodox theology, but directly and organically

from within it."¹ Again the ideology of the SCM was positing the question, "Can Christians put their back into the struggle for social justice if they themselves are in an unjust economic relationship with large numbers of their fellow men?"² SCM'ers responded "no."

The early work camp movement, for example, was based on the premise that society as then organized ran directly counter to all that Christianity taught about social organization in its relationship between men and God. It was one expression of an attempt to meet the problem just posited. The ideals were again for socialist forms of organization, but the beliefs and values turned back to a commitment to a "faith which declares that God has made His purpose known in the midst of human life and in terms of human need" and to a belief that "rejects the teachings of Jesus as primary, and would have us think that man is understood in terms of God rather than God in terms of humanity."³

In "specific situations of conduct" this ideology of neo-orthodoxy operated to produce statements and actions on issues. There was a difference of opinion on the peace issue with the coming of the war. "Some of our number feel that war

¹Above, p. 62.

²Above, p. 67.

³Above, p. 61.

is inevitable and necessary at this time in order to defeat the forces that deny God's universal fatherhood. Others within our fellowship feel that war is the supreme violation of human personality and a denial of God's will."¹ It may be significant, that is, illustrative of the change from the social gospel approach to neo-orthodoxy, that the language of the 1940's statement concentrates on an understanding of the issue in terms of God rather than speaking of the teachings of Jesus. In addition to statements of policy and the formation of study groups, action towards the goal of social justice on the peace issue included support of student relief, investigation and support of the rights of conscientious objectors, education and action for the needs of the interned anti-fascists, and participation in other groups whose goals dealt with peace, such as Peace Councils, United Nations Associations, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and the International Union of Students. Minority rights also aroused the SCM's sense of social justice in this period. Campaign and committee action were taken as a result, to change government policy on the Japanese Canadian issue. In the late 1940's, National Council recommended the study and publicization of the Canadian Indian question, and the sending of petitions to Parliament. Action on the labour

¹Above, p. 99.

question in this period revolved around the work camp movement's industrial work camps, with students (in co-operative living) for the summer studying and acting on the problems of the worker, and sometimes then committing themselves to a longer period of time, so that, for example, they could carry out sustained union work. In this neo-orthodox period, action--resolutions to government, and picketing--urged the placing of an arms embargo on the sending of arms to China, from the conviction that one nation should not interfere in the affairs of another, and from fear of war between intervening sovereign powers.

Neo-orthodoxy, then, encouraged the continuation of political action stemming from a predominantly left ideology, faithful to SCM's traditions but modified by a new theological outlook to be less "humanist" than had been the 1930's in the SCM.

A common view of students generally in the 1950's was that they were politically quiescent. The SCM was not, but expressed its political identity mainly through its working relationships with other groups--an emphasis of that part of its ideology which proclaimed openness and tolerance. The SCM was trying to work on the outer reaches and maintain dialogue to confront the problems of the cold war, instead of avoiding

them, as other students seemed to be doing. This dialogue approach was also utilized to open encounters with agnostics and humanists. Despite the common thread of technique (dialogue), these areas of political debate and theological reflection were becoming separated in this period, as reflected in the change of thrust of work camps. One informant characterized this whole period as a transitional one representing "a change from a scarcity imperative to an identity imperative."¹

In "specific situations of conduct" the ideology which earlier I have, perhaps misleadingly, called the "co-option by other groups" of the SCM of this period, was expressed in the peace issue, in concern over workers, and in interest in international questions.

A statement on peace reflected this lack of "group egocentrism." "If Christians are to think and act with responsibility today, they must not be satisfied with an uncritical acceptance of their own institutions and social customs."² Action was taken through participation in peace and international groups, and in the early 1960's as well, through resolutions and letters sent to world leaders and the Canadian government. Industrial work camps continued to reflect the ideology of socialism which

¹George Mossman, interview, Edmonton, April 19, 1972.

²Above, p. 107.

they had helped to maintain for the SCM with work camp beginnings in the late 1940's, and they also reflected the concern with opening channels of communication.

In many of the industrial nations of the world, there is little or no contact between the industrial working class and the Church. . . . For many reasons, too numerous to mention, the churches have either not done or have been unable to do much to make the Christian gospel relevant and demanding to the modern industrial scene.¹

In the late 1950's the SCM was again expressing concern over China, recommending to the Canadian government extension of diplomatic recognition to communist China--another reflection of the "tolerance" ideology of the SCM which had such a "high profile" in this period. Beginning in 1960, action was also taken on South Africa (opposition to apartheid), on Latin America (urging the government to join the Organization of American States and follow a policy independent of the U.S.), and through the Ecumenical Assistance Program of the World's Student Christian Federation, on Chile, Nigeria, and India.

The period of the 1960's has been characterized as having an ideology of "God is dead" theology. While a feeling of need for commitment to a program of action sometimes accompanied the overwhelming interest in identity and introspection, it was more characteristic, especially in the mid-60's' two or three years of discussions of "restructuring," for the SCM to be

¹Above, p. 147.

apolitical. Those who sought political expression of their belief worked through SUPA (Student Union for Peace Action). That the theological aspect ("God is dead") of the SCM did not determine the political or lack of political ideals of the SCM is suggested by later developments--that by 1968 a "God is dead" theology was bed-mate to a revived political radicalism. These two aspects of its ideology seem to have been reworked into a "political theology" which currently links the SCM's political concerns--environment, stockholders' participation, revolutionary movements--to the relevance of the Christian tradition.

In "specific situations of conduct" the character attributed to the ideology of the SCM in this period was not always consistently represented. The Vietnam issue, for instance, provoked National Councils out of their introspectiveness to send open letters to members of Parliament and the government of Canada, protesting against Canadian complicity. A brief was presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism concluding that English-speaking Canadians "accord the extra measure of consideration and respect necessary for the flourishing of any minority"; some of the recommendations were more radical than this statement would suggest, but apparently students were not provoked to much action. National Council statements and Edmonton and Winnipeg local unit action on native people's

problems in the late 1960's continued an earlier concern but in their greater emphasis on action indicated the transition from introspectiveness to a revived political radicalism. Interest was also expressed through exchange programs and study projects, in international affairs.

This summary has given highlights in illustration of the conclusion that the SCM has had an ideology and that it has applied this ideology in its activities.

The hypothesis (and its corollaries) about the SCM seeking access to decision-makers in the political system is also confirmed. The SCM was in contact with government on more than forty-five occasions. In the overwhelming number of cases, access was sought through the executive and bureaucracy rather than other channels, with the bureaucracy receiving most communications. A further corollary, that claims of non-partisanship (in relation to political parties) would be made, was confirmed. The further observation was made that the SCM's communications to government covered a wide range of issues--of special concern to students, of domestic society and politics, and of international political questions. Furthermore, there seemed to be a constraint felt on the tactics or methods which the SCM felt it might employ (as Cupps predicted), limiting itself to a certain range of

"official" vehicles, nonviolent and usually politely critical; this choice may be related to the SCM's ideology--the ethic of love, openness and tolerance, which placed a high value on dialogue rather than confrontation.

There is also evidence for the final hypothesis, confirming that as a pressure group, the SCM has worked through a "group complex." "Group complex" was taken to mean relationships of a fairly stable character, measured by regular occurrence of contact with other groups. It was shown that the SCM had contacts with: the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, the World's Student Christian Federation (and related relief organizations), the Student Volunteer Movement, the Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association, World University Service, the Canadian University Service Overseas, the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament/Student Union for Peace Action, the National Federation of Canadian University Students/Canadian Union of Students, the Canadian Student Assembly, the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, the churches, and Inter-varsity Christian Fellowship. Also mentioned were: Friendly Relations With Overseas Students, the Co-ordinating Committee of Canadian Youth Groups, the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO, the Co-operative Committee

on Japanese-Canadians, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the Canadian Citizenship Council, the Religion Labour Council of Canada, and the United Nations Association of Canada.

The significance of these contacts was seen in terms of the ideology of the SCM as a pressure group--its concerns of openness, outreach, and community. We can also view the significance of working with other groups as another channel of access to decision-makers--to government indirectly, through influence on other groups.

The Student Christian Movement of Canada, in conclusion, has an ideology, seeks access to decision-makers in the political system, and works through a "group complex"; it is a pressure group.

What are the implications of the conclusion that the SCM is a pressure group? What is the value of each of its characteristics as a pressure group? What is and what should be the role of pressure groups in general, and of this particular pressure group, in a democratic society--specifically Canada's? Let us look at each of the three characteristics separately--having an ideology, seeking access to political decision-makers, and working through a group complex--and then move to a more general discussion.

Many SCM'ers apparently view their SCM experience as an important stage in their ideological development, leading them to political activism in some cases, to new theological perspectives in other cases, or both. They agree with students of "socialization" who see groups as important agents in this process (but a more specific evaluation cannot be made on a mass basis). Students sometimes were experiencing the breakdown of family and church ties, associated with their status as students, and recognized particularly as a common phenomenon of modern society, and in the SCM they often found an alternative source of support.

SCM'ers expressed a need for the feeling of freedom they had in their ideological self-searchings within their "open movement"--a freedom that the very nature of its ideology gave them, since in contrast with the churches' approach which was often what compelled them to question, it was relatively free of confining dogma.

Because they were part of a transitory group--the student population--most participants could feel relatively free of long-term obligation to the organization per se. (In fact, they might even feel obligated not to "meddle" as "graduate SCM'ers" with what prided itself on being a "student-run" organization.) Thus they could have an extra measure of freedom in their ideological development. (It posed a problem as well--

that many graduate SCM'ers were not sure where to turn for the same sort of expression and development of their thoughts and activities.)

The ideological function of the SCM on a societal level has been to add to the socialist tradition in Canada, and at least in a minor way to foster that segment of our tradition which tolerates ideological diversity.

The SCM stimulated ideological reflection in other institutions--the churches and the university--about students and political action, students and their religious upbringing, ecumenicity, and the (existing and ideal) nature of the university.

It is difficult to discuss the significance of the SCM's particular performance of the function of seeking access to political decision-makers, in one sense, because no attempt has been made here to measure the influence of each of the SCM's representations (an almost impossible task). At least the voicing of demands allows opportunity for them to be heard--although if revolutionary change were preferred over evolutionary change the SCM's mode of communication would be regarded as detrimental to the group's interests. SCM'ers at least were not too discouraged to continue sending communications to government representatives, apparently feeling efficacious enough in their group action to have some hope of being influential. Whether

a contribution to the feeling of citizens' efficacy is good or bad, of course, again depends on one's total view of society; whether such underlying supports are perverse or productive depends on whether society is "good" or "bad." On an individual level, then, SCM'ers in seeking access to government increased their participation in Canadian politics and society, while on a societal level demands and supports were conveyed to decision-makers by the Movement.

The significance of the function of acting in a group complex as carried out by the SCM can also be seen from both the individual and the societal level.

Individual SCM'ers maintaining such contact and others whom they affected were afforded contact with a diversity of views--an additional stimulus to the ideological development many were seeking or discovered unwittingly in the SCM. Those "churched" in a conservative tradition were brought to consider the views of communist students in the World Federation of Democratic Youth or the International Union of Students; those "politicized" in a radical tradition met the other-worldly views of some churchmen and the IVCF'ers whose ideals stood in sharp contrast to those of the SCM. Theologically, individuals were involved in an airing of denominational doctrinal differences which they were unlikely to experience elsewhere, through joint

programming with denominational student groups and contact with churches.

The societal significance of the SCM acting through a group complex may be seen primarily in terms of societal "cleavages." Whether such open lines of communication with groups whose ideology differed with the SCM's produced results such as the axiom "familiarity breeds contempt" predicts, or whether the dialogue instead produced understanding and a reduction of conflict in Canadian society can not easily be proven. In the case of the SCM one gains the impression that the more optimistic view of the results of a "group complex" holds in at least some cases: the SCM was able to find allies for particular issues with groups with whom it also had great differences--the IUS and WFDY, the churches, and the IVCF, for examples; this was not a mere alignment of like-minded groups building up their forces against opposing groups. That part of the group complex which consisted of like-minded groups (to the SCM) did not seem to have posed great danger of disrupting Canadian society. For those groups who were "kindred spirit" in outlook, the SCM was sometimes a sort of "think-tank," generating the intellectual approach and ethical convictions, and enthusiasm which motivated some of the participants in other groups (Student Union for Peace Action, Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, National Federation of Canadian University Students/

Canadian Union of Students, Canadian Student Assembly). For the churches the SCM was the breeding ground of many of the leaders of the ecumenical movement, as a result both of the "melting pot" effect of the SCM on individuals active in it and of the group complex bringing together many religious groups in dialogue.

In more general terms, what are some of the aspects of significance of each of these characteristics of pressure groups-- possession of an ideology, seeking access to decision-makers in the political system, and working through a group complex?

Robert Lane discusses the functions of ideologies, which can be applied to pressure groups as the carriers of ideological tradition. Lane writes in Political Ideology:

Ideologies have social as well as individual functions; that is, they contribute to the effectiveness or the pleasure or the morality of group life. In some ways these functions are the same as the individual functions, seen from a different angle. First, a political ideology helps to protect group boundaries by helping men to adjust to one another through a common bond; or, alternatively it may protect these boundaries by designating enemy groups. . . [and it may produce] minimized friction within the group Second, the ideology justifies group goals as it does individual goals, and thus coordinates common effort. Social character, Fromm says, "internalizes external necessities and thus harnesses human energy for the task of a given economic and social system."¹⁷ The same might be said for a political ideology; thus, third, by moralizing and rationalizing certain goals and codes of behavior it enlists men for the group tasks to be done. . . . Fourth, a common political ideology may provide the legitimation of political authority, and in this way makes its sanctions and duties congruent

with conscience, that is, internally enforced. . . . But of course, an ideology can desanctify law and delegitimize authority just as well. And fifth, as Sebastian De Grazia has argued so well, without a creed in which to believe and rulers who are seen as solicitous and strong, men suffer from pangs of anxiety and anomie that has as its parallel the early separation anxiety of the growing child. A political ideology fills this void; it reduces anxiety and anomie.

¹⁷Eric Fromm, [Escape from Freedom (New York: Rinehart, 1941), p. 280].¹

As vehicles for the maintenance of ideological traditions in our society, pressure groups carry out these functions of ideology.

In seeking access to government and public opinion a pressure group supplements political parties in the "representational system."² The legitimacy of such a role was questioned in the old "muckraking" pressure group studies and even in such a more recent work as Finer's Anonymous Empire.³ Like every part of the political system the pressure group in its activities relating to government is open to abuse. Nonetheless, many

¹Robert Lane, Political Ideology (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp. 424-5.

²Seymour Martin Lipset, "Party Systems and the Representation of Social Groups," Archives Europeennes de Sociologie, I (1960), p. 51.

³S. E. Finer, Anonymous Empire: A Study of the Lobby in Great Britain (London: Pall Mall Press, 1958).

observers and many politicians as well, in "western" political cultures at least, now see them as legitimate and important. In Canada, academics Meisel, Dion, Lemieux, Dawson, Kwavnik, Taylor, Manzer, and Presthus, who have contributed most of the sparse literature (see bibliography), at the least see them as self-regulators and spokesmen of limited areas of society, or more importantly forming a network of instruments with the potential to fill in the gap left by political parties and representative agencies of government in their "monitoring" function. Another way of describing this function is the "aggregation of preferences."¹ Presthus, for example, in viewing the "interest-group-legislative interaction process" conceptualizes interest-group activities in "policy" and in "individual" contexts. "The 'policy' context refers to such functions as providing information, legislative support, advice on legislative strategy, etc. 'Individual' functions include such particularistic items as friendship, campaign support and personal services."²

..... Once removed from seeking access to government, but directly

¹Harry Eckstein, "Parties, Political--Part II: Party..... Systems," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, II (1968), 437.

²Robert Presthus, "Interest Groups and the Canadian Parliament: Activities, Interaction, Legitimacy, and Influence," Canadian Journal of Political Science, IV, No. 4 (1971), 446.

related to it, the function of political education is carried out by pressure groups as well as by political parties--not only for voters but for their representatives.

Any dependence of Canadian MP's upon lobbyists, moreover, is probably reinforced by the amateur tradition and high turnover (about 40 per cent in recent times), characterizing the Commons. The extent to which lobbyists play a socialization role for new and inexperienced members is suggested by the high priority given by MP's to such interest-group functions as "providing indispensable information" and "providing information on pending legislation."¹

Government can thank groups which seek access to it for providing information to it, for increasing citizens' feelings of political efficacy, for freeing parties to "aggregate interest" rather than being captors of one particular interest (or giving them that potential). Citizens can thank groups for giving them the opportunity to join in collective action--to supply or support the tools of leadership, organization and some financial means which facilitate more effective representation of demands to government and public opinion than would individual action.

One of the problems is, of course, that those groups able to make the most clamour may be those which least need or deserve in proportion to what they already have, the attention of government, and large segments of the public may be unorganized. It is one of the tasks of government to assess the validity

¹Ibid., p. 454.

of groups' demands against some concept of the "public interest."¹ Formerly unorganized segments of the public, at any rate, seem to be entering what was in Canada the preserve of the middle class (though farmers' groups and trade unions were extremely important exceptions). In doing so, they are sometimes receiving the aid of government--for example, financial support of the "Poor People's Conference"--which is raising a whole new range of problems. A citizens' group in John Munro's Hamilton riding, for example, found itself cut off from substantial funds when it refused to follow Munro's advice to "cool it," according to radio news reports. The old fear of government being controlled by interests (through obligations incurred with substantial campaign aid, for example, by well-heeled groups or their representatives, and by men in powerful government positions, for example cabinet posts, being used as particular interests' spokesmen) is being matched by a new fear of interests being controlled by government. (The SCM faced this problem in 1966 when a rider was attached to the funds given to it for the 1965-66 Christmas conference in Saskatoon. The clause stipulated that attention in the program be given to the state of Confederation. A huge row developed at National Council over the issue. A proposal by the authors of the study on

¹See Carl J. Friedrich, ed., Nomos V: The Public Interest (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1962).

voluntary associations for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism similarly directs association policy according to government interest--by promising money for a particular action, here, bilingualism in pressure group activities.)

What we are looking at now, then, is the other side of the coin. That is, just as a pressure group can seek access to government to achieve its goals, the government's various agencies can seek to achieve its goals for society through the pressure group which is seeking its support. Just as with the group seeking access to government, this relationship may be regarded as "functional" for society, or for those who fear the "status quo" orientation of this mode of viewing society, it may be regarded normatively as having either good or bad aspects or both good and bad.

(The government is currently expanding its programming to deal with voluntary associations, of which the pressure group may be considered one type, both at the local level and at the national level. At the local level social development workers, in the view of the co-ordinator of all the field staff of government in this area, must be more of a resource presence than source of leadership. At the national level, the Citizenship Branch's programme development chairman for citizens' organizations is thinking in terms of resource groupings

all over the country, for established groups to revitalize themselves and for newly emerging "citizen participation" groups to shape themselves for more than an ephemeral existence.)¹

One informant who plays a key role in the current government program wonders whether the government knew what it was getting into when it started talking about "participatory democracy," and how politicians will respond to the further erosion of their traditional concepts of "representative democracy" with increased group activity.

What is the value of the characteristic of a group working through a group complex? Van Loon and Whittington see the complex of groups in Canada as a chief stabilizer of society--attributing the lack of violence in Canadian society to its group structure.² The phenomenon of "overlapping membership" has been widely credited with moderating conflicts in society, though the theory has also been disputed. Party discipline in Canada makes it rare for men and women of different partisan loyalties to join forces on a particular issue through party channels; through the group system there do not seem to be rules which hinder co-operation on single issues such as the Japanese Canadian issue during World War II or the issue of French

¹Conversations with federal civil servants, Ottawa and Toronto, February 8-15, 1972.

²Richard J. Van Loon and Michael S. Whittington, The Canadian Political System (Toronto: McGraw Hill, 1971), p. 321.

Canadians' rights and role in Canada.

What should be the role of pressure groups in Canada? What should be the future role of the Student Christian Movement of Canada?

Political scientists should, it seems to me, take on this normative task of offering "humane prescriptions for policy."¹ I agree with the analysis of Ellen and Neal Wood and their conclusion that:

whatever direction Canadian political scientists decide to follow, it is clear that they must take a long, hard look at the American discipline which they are beginning to adopt. A country like Canada--profoundly concerned with building a viable nation out of diversity, very conscious of its newness and the need for creative, imaginative, and constantly evolving solutions to new and often unique problems; a country which, while sometimes dangerously complacent, is still not so consistently smug that it feels no need for constructive self-criticism--cannot afford to adopt an inherently reactionary mode of social and political analysis which, more concerned with form than with content, is divorced from pressing problems and militates against a sensitive and creative social concern. In any case, it would be absurd to adopt wholeheartedly a pattern which even its creators have begun to question.

I put high priority in my perception of Canada's needs on a more equitable distribution of wealth, a sense of community not only nationally but regionally and locally as well, and increased responsiveness of government to citizens (including

¹Dennis Smith, "What are we teaching?" Canadian Forum, June, 1971, LI, 605, p. 5, referring to Sheldon Wolin, "Political Theory as a Vocation."

²Ellen and Neal Wood, "The American Science of Politics," in Ian Lumsden, ed., Close the 49th Parallel etc.: The Americanization of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 194.

increased government accountability).

Pressure groups can be facilitating structures in achieving these goals, through their involvement with the citizen, the government, and society.

The individual citizen should increase his effectiveness by participating to some degree in the group which represents his interests. Where he is part of a "potential group" which is unorganized--as, for instance, tenants long were, he should help those who are innovating structures to represent their group's needs. Pressure groups should be an additional training ground and power base for citizens interested in moving from this part of the "representative structure" to the more traditional area of the legislatures.

Pressure groups should be important agents in keeping government alert to citizens' views and needs. Annual submissions to the cabinet and opposition parties are not enough, and are often lacking in skill of presentation. (A former executive assistant to a federal cabinet minister recalled having to coach a pressure group on how to present its case before a committee.)¹ Government and groups can benefit by the provision of information and points of view which the civil service may not have. The existence of pressure groups should encourage delegation of authority to them by the government in areas of expertise of

¹Conversation with a civil servant, Ottawa, February, 1972.

the groups, though either the groups or the groups through the government need still be accountable to the populace at large where wider interests are involved--e.g. doctors in the running of the medical system, students, faculty, and administration in the running of the university, skilled workmen in the licensing of their occupational groups' aspirants. Such decentralization could increase the interest and responsibility taken by citizens in the management of their government and society. (Tocqueville saw the potential of "voluntary associations" to limit the power of the state as new and autonomous centres of power.)¹

In this pressure group-government relationship, however, to achieve the goals of redistribution of wealth, development of community, and enhanced responsiveness of government to citizens, there needs to be increased effort on the part of the government to take account of the advantage some groups have over others--in terms of their financial resources, political "savvy," leadership skills and so on, and a consequent exercise of judgement by government in weighing their various representations in light of some concept of the "public interest."

For the larger society, pressure groups should also perform important functions. They should play a role in political

¹David L. Sills, "Voluntary Associations: Sociological Aspects," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XVI, p. 376.

education, "consciousness-raising" (e.g. on women's liberation) on issues, and advising on channels of influence to government, as well as in leadership for future political and pressure group workers. Pressure groups should play a role in the development of national unity--partly through the educative function of teaching groups to work together within specific pressure groups or as "parallel organizations,"¹ partly through the resolution of conflicts before they become public issues, and partly through the integration of sub-groups into our society (not necessarily total assimilation, but through mutual help in adaptation of newcomers, for instance).² The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism reports on voluntary associations and on ethnic groups prescribe such roles.³ While performing this function of integration and stabilization for society, pressure groups also should provide avenues of change, particularly for greater economic and social justice--initiating, for example, many social welfare functions as they have done in the past. (These functions, it has been observed, are often subsequently assumed by government, thus raising the question of whether the

¹With particular reference to French Canadian and English Canadian groups, parallel organizations co-operate but are not integrated structurally in the pursuit of similar goals--e.g., the Co-operative Union of Canada and the Conseil canadien de la coopération.

²Sills, "Voluntary Associations," p. 374.

³Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism: Book VI - Voluntary Associations (Ottawa: Queen's Printers, 1970).

phenomenon of voluntary associations is a transitory one.)¹

Pressure groups should, through the performance of these societal functions of education, integration, conflict resolution, and innovation in social policy, also meet some of the need for community which has arisen with the growth of large urban centres. Pressure groups should substitute for some of the needs formerly met by the presence, for instance, of the "extended family." In all their societal functions, pressure groups should be agencies for the development and expression of ideology, maintaining or innovating, as they perceive the need.

What should be the role of the SCM in the future? The answer should be viewed from the historical perspective of the participation of the SCM in the university and society, rather than be tied too closely to the very current situation, although that may be seen as a product of the SCM's development.

This analysis (and perhaps the one which has just preceded it) may overstep the limits which have been set in the restriction of most of the dissertation's discussion, to ideology, seeking access to political decision-makers, and working through a group complex. That is to recognize Lowi's point: "This over-concentration on the political activities of groups obscures

¹Ibid., p. 376.

the fact that most interest groups are not mobilized for political ends most of the time, but rather perform a number of other functions necessary to their own membership and to society."¹

My prescription for the SCM of the future is "more of the same"--what could be called innovation, toleration, and creation of "public space," which are, impressionistically, if not rigorously confirmed, features of the SCM's accomplishments.

Innovation consists of organizing reality into relationships embodying new mental or aesthetic concepts, the new relationships serving the purpose of the innovator better than the old. Analytically, and also in time sequence, innovation involves two steps: arriving at a new mental conception, and converting it into action or into material form.²

The SCM's innovative activities included initiating the first National Student Conference in Canada, initiating "work camps" in Canada (initially in co-operation with the Christian Work Camp Fellowship), setting up "co-operative houses" and a shared income plan amongst certain group leaders of very different incomes, running "university missions," and setting up a national SCM bookstore to meet the needs of the movement--theologically and generally (which, to my knowledge,

¹Theodore Lowi, The End of Liberalism, pp. 36-38, cited in Van Loon and Whittington, The Canadian Political System, p. 703.

²Everett E. Hagen, On the Theory of Social Change (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1962), p. 86.

no other pressure group in Canada has done). On issues, it fought for policy changes, as in the Japanese Canadian issue--when it demanded the revoking of their disenfranchisement, expropriation, and forced relocation, in the policies towards the Cold War--when it favoured cultivation of contacts, as with the "Beaver Brigade," and in the policy toward communist China--when it advocated diplomatic recognition, for example. On a larger scale of the movement of ideas and groups, the SCM's "members" were instrumental in popularizing the ecumenical movement, in the conception and formation of the Canadian Student Assembly, the Canadian University Service Overseas, World University Service, and the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, in establishing a style of leadership later emulated by university chaplaincies, and in anticipating the "counter-culture" with programs to meet its needs.

There are those who say that the SCM should be allowed to die because other groups have taken over all the functions which it pioneered; related speculation about the possible demise of pressure groups generally because government is taking over so many of their functions makes a similar case. Yet presumably there will always be sociologically marginal areas in need of attention, minority groups in need of championing, government policy in need of criticism, and scope for imagination

in substance and style to be set for public and private sectors.

What R. T. LaPierre wrote in his introduction to Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change still seems relevant: "That the acute functional disequilibrium of all modern societies, and of all those in the throes of becoming modern, can be resolved only through innovative endeavor would seem to be self-evident."¹

Horowitz suggests that Canadians are highly tolerant of ideological diversity. English Canada, he says, is not a "one-myth culture"; ideological diversity has not been buried beneath an absolutist liberal nationalism, but possesses tory and socialist characteristics as well as liberal ones.² This thesis is not being tested in the dissertation, but observations on the SCM's style are interesting in light of it.

The SCM worked at creating toleration within the Movement and within the community. It interpreted the cause of many minorities to the community--Japanese Canadians, French Canadians, native peoples, and foreign students, for example. It tried to create understanding in international affairs--for example, creating sympathy for communist China, the Soviet Union

¹R. L. LaPierre, "Editor's Introduction," in H. G. Barnett, Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953), p. vii.

²Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 18.

and various revolutionary movements (Angola, South Africa, Latin America). It opened dialogue with Marxist and Communist individuals and groups, and tried to combat the red-baiting and scare tactics of opposing groups. It interpreted the university to the churches, agnostics to Christians, and Christians to agnostics.

This role of creating tolerance needs to be continued in the future, and the SCM still has some of the contacts and the tradition to take it on.

A related function is what Hannah Arendt calls creating "public space"--the provision of a forum for the discussion of public issues, thus combatting the danger of too great a "privatism" on the parts of citizens.¹ The SCM created an atmosphere which engendered debate; it also drew attention to issues in need of public discussion. In a society searching for realistic means of citizen participation, a group such as the SCM can be a useful vehicle.

This study can be said to have made a small contribution to the study of Canadian politics.

It adds to a sparse descriptive literature on pressure groups in Canada. (See bibliography.) In choosing a group

¹Hannah Arendt, "The Crisis in Culture: Its Social and Its Political Significance," Between Past and Future (New York: World Publishing Co., 1961).

which has not quite such a obviously visible role as most other groups chosen by students of Canadian politics (the Canadian Medical Association, the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, labour groups, for example), it draws attention to the fact that even "minor" pressure groups (in terms of numbers involved, financial resources, or occupational groups represented) may warrant greater consideration by academics and government; their ideology, their representations to decision-makers, the groups they work with, may be felt to have a surprising impact on their "members" and even a wider public, who may in turn include potential leaders or "provocateurs" in society.

This study elaborates on and thus increases understanding of one segment of Canadian ideology--and in the very portrayal of an ideology weakens the case of "end of ideology" political scientists.

This study in showing the SCM's pattern of seeking access to decision-makers in the political system, may provide a useful index of power within the Canadian political system, or at least perceptions of power centres by some citizens. (Presthus suggests that his interest group-Parliament study provides an index of power within the legislative system. Weir considers that his study provides an index or reinforces previous conceptions of where power lies in the Canadian political system.)¹ This

¹Presthus, "Interest Groups and the Canadian Parliament," p. 459; Weir, "Patterns of Interaction."

study also shows one group's political style--a reflection of the norms of the political culture (e.g. rejection of partisan involvement by the pressure group collectively).

In showing how the SCM works with other groups, the study gives some insight into the interaction of groups in Canadian society. It gives evidence for the case of those who say that a web of groups strengthens and adds to the stability of society, at least for one level of that society.

Normatively, the study suggests goals for pressure groups generally, and for the SCM in particular.

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E. NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Canadian Student. 1918-1950.

Federation News. 1941-1971.

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F. MATERIAL IN SCM ARCHIVES

Assorted national archival material: committee minutes and reports, conference reports, correspondence, newsletters, press releases, work camp logs, reports to and from local units and the World's Student Christian Federation. Similar material, in much more limited quantity, was examined from the Toronto and Alberta local units.

The following specific items may be noted:

Bias, Protest, Imprint, Grapevine, L'Idiotaire. For SCM National Council, 1950's and 1960's. All were short-lived attempts at a national magazine to replace the Canadian Student.

Crysdale, Edith. "A History of the Canadian Student Christian Movement." n.p., n.d. (Typewritten.)

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G. INTERVIEWS, CONVERSATIONS, AND PANELS

Interviews with: Richard Allen, Sheila Brown, Fred Caloren, Harriet Christie, Roy DeMarsh, Martyn Estall, King Gordon, Alice Heap, Katherine Hockin, Gerald Hutchinson, Richard Hyde, Mary Jackman, Norman Mackenzie, George Mossman, Tom Murphy, R. F. W. (Butch) Nelson, Laura Pelton, Dorothy (Fleming) Williams, Don Wilson.

Conversations with: Bernadine Aird, Alex Cameron, John Davidson, Marg Dymont, Nancy Edwards, Moira Hutchinson, Roger Hutchinson, Ruth (Cunningham) Isbister, Glenn MacDonell, Art Macpherson, Mac Ransom, Evelyn Reid, Al Rimmer, Ruth Rushton, Beth Shemilt, Les Shemilt, Walter Whitely, Earl Wilmott.

Conversations were also held (on the subject of pressure groups rather than the SCM specifically) with several federal civil servants, February 8-15, 1972.

Panels: Political Radicalism of the 1930's; The SCM in the 1960's; Interest Group on Political Radicalism in the SCM's History—all at the SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference, Camp Bolton, Ontario, August 29-September 2, 1971.

APPENDIX A

The development of the SCM song around the theme of "poisoning the student mind" arose out of an editorial in a conservative-evangelical newspaper in the 1920's accusing the SCM of leading astray impressionable young men and women. It is a tradition at SCM special functions--conferences, for example, to add to the first two stanzas special verses dealing with people or events on that occasion. This version below was composed for the SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

Poisoning the Student Mind

The SCM has found its true vocation,
It's poisoning the student mind
Its leaders by astute manipulation
Are poisoning the student mind
And pious souls are sure that we will go
To toast our toes in furnaces below
If we give heed to leaders that we know
Are poisoning the student mind.

Poisoning the student mind!
Poisoning the student mind!
Bad men, bold men, villains double-dyed
'Neath their smiling countenances hide
Spiritual arsenic and moral cyanide
For poisoning the student, poisoning the student,
Poisoning the student mind.

Now old Jean Hutch looks innocent as grass is
But she's poisoning the student mind
She takes her time as she makes those telling passes
Yes, she's poisoning the student mind
She still pursues the Sharmanesque technique
And asks queer questions flummoxing the weak
Who claim that Jesus turned the other cheek
Thus she's poisoned many student minds.

Doc Christie throws out gobbets of the same
She keeps poisoning the student mind
Implies that Jesus may have loved a dame
Thus she poisoned many WOMEN'S minds
She brings God right down from his lofty perch
And says he founded the United Church
Thus leaving all poor Baptists in the lurch
She's still poisoning the students' minds.

Dot Williams too has spent a lot of time
In poisoning the student mind
She stirs the unsuspecting up to crime
As she poisons many a student mind
She claims that folks no longer give a damn
If Abram is the same as Abraham
Or even if Jesus is the great I AM
Thus she poisons still the student mind.

Observe that Roosian, Sasha Davidson
As she's poisoning the student mind
Completing harm her Johnnie had begun
In poisoning even the school-boy mind
She brought his students home all purity
And planted commie opium in their tea
Seduced her Johnnie to the N.D.P.
Thus poisoning also his quote mind.

The Thirties brought a change of moral scenery
For poisoning the student mind
Petitions, resolutions, sessions plenary
Were poisoning the student mind
Equality was not a notion glib
Women were persons, not just Adam's rib
But all the time we stood for People's Lib
And that's still poisoning the student mind.

Again the Fifties found a new dimension
For poisoning the student mind
Work Camps and Anti-Atom demonstrations
Helped in poisoning the student mind
Bob Miller's books and his critique of art
Imported thoughts of Sartre and of Barth
Eggheads, McCarthy and freedom played a part
In poisoning the student mind.

There's just one thing that we forgot to mention
The student hasn't got a mind
And so it's safe to hold this great convention
For the student hasn't got a mind
But if our leaders heard this awful news
In dark despair they'd turn at once to booze
So let them all imagine if they choose
That they're poisoning the student mind.

APPENDIX B

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER IV -- A PRESSURE GROUP AND ACCESS TO POLITICAL
DECISION-MAKERS: THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

1. "Demands" regarding students:

<u>Demand</u>	<u>Source</u>
1923	<u>Varsity</u> , February 13, 1923.
1942	<u>Varsity</u> , February 11, 12, 16, 17, 24, 1942.
1956	SCM National Archives, letters of July 13, 1956, from R.A.D. Ford, Head, European Division, External Affairs Department to Ted Nichols, General Secretary, SCM of Canada; September 19, 1956, Ford to Nichols; September 25, 1956, Nichols to Ford.
1958	National Council Minutes and Reports, September 7-12, 1958, pp. 8,19.
1960	National Council Minutes and Reports, September 5-15, 1960, "Current Issues," p. 27.
1961	National Council Minutes and Reports, September 4-14, 1961, "Current Issues," p. 35.
1963	SCM National Archives, letter of December 20, 1963, from National Centennial Commission to Fred Caloren, SCM Study and Summer Pro- jects Secretary.
1964	SCM National Archives, letter of October 14, 1964, from Fred Caloren to Monsieur Henri Dion, Secrétaire, Commission de la Fonction publique, Hotel de l'Assemblée législative, Québec
1965 (S.U.P.A. question)	R.F.W. Nelson, interview, SCM Fiftieth Anniversary Conference.

- 1965 (conference travel) National Council Minutes and Reports, September 6-16, 1965, "Christmas Conference Committee," p. J-1.
- 1968 SCM National Archives, newsletter of April 5, 1964, "SCuM (putting You into the SCM)."
- 1971 SCM National Archives, "Yukon Seminar Newsletter," October, 1971.

2. "Demands" regarding domestic society and politics:

- 1942 Varsity, October 12, 1942.
- 1950 (Civil Liberties) SCM National Archives, minutes of the National SCM Executive, March 3, 1950.
- 1950 (Senate Committee) National Council Minutes and Reports, May 15-25, 1950, "Report of the Political Commission," p. 47.
- 1953 SCM National Archives, letters of April 27, 1953 from Canon Puxley, SCM General Secretary, to the Honourable Stuart Garson, Q.C., Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada; July 7, 1953 from Robert Miller, SCM Associate Secretary, to Garson.
- 1956 SCM National Archives, brief (mimeograph), November, 1956.
- late 1950's (immigration) SCM National Archives, "Brief Submitted by the Student Christian Movement of Canada to the Honourable Minister of Citizenship and Immigration," n.d.
- 1958 SCM National Archives, covering letter of January 30, 1958, from SCM National Office, for briefs from Chinese Canadian Association and Japanese Canadian Citizens Association of Canada.
- 1960 National Council Minutes and Reports, September 5-15, 1960, "Current Issues," pp. 25-26.

1964-65 SCM National Archives, memorandum and letters, from Fred Caloren to Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism Gertrude Laing, and Andre Laurendeau, April 12, 1965.

3. "Demands" regarding international questions:

1931	Peter Paris, "Report on SCM of Canada: Study Life of the Movement," August, 1965, pp. 28-29.
1938	<u>Varsity</u> , November 29, 1938.
1946	<u>Varsity</u> , Febraury 26, 1946.
1947	<u>Varsity</u> , November 7, 1947.
1948	SCM National Archives, letter of July 16, 1948, from G.M. Hutchinson, General Secretary, SCM of Canada, to Prime Minister St. Laurent.
1951	SCM National Archives, minutes of the National Executive, April 6, 1951.
1959 (refugee orphans)	National Council Minutes and Reports, September 7-13, 1959, pp. 10,12.
1959 (tubercular patients)	SCM National Archives, minutes of the National Executive, October 7, 1959.
1959 (atomic bomb)	SCM National Archives, minutes of the National Executive, November 11, 1959.
1960 (peace)	National Council Minutes and Reports, September 5-15, 1960, pp. 14-15.
1960 (China)	National Council Minutes and Reports, September 5-15, 1960, "Current Issues," p. 26.

- 1961 National Council Minutes and Reports,
September 4-14, 1961, "Current Issues,"
p. 33.
- 1963 National Council Minutes and Reports,
September 2-12, 1963, "Current Issues,"
p. G-1.
- 1966 National Council Minutes and Reports,
Special National Council (1965),
February 18-20, 1966, p. 4.
- 1967 National Council Minutes and Reports,
August 30- September 3, 1967, pp. 4-5 and
Appendix.

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